

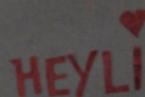
TIME



THE SURVIVOR

For 60 years, the **Dalai Lama** has been the face of Buddhism. China has another plan

by CHARLIE CAMPBELL



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From the Editor

The world stage

IN ADDITION TO CO-FOUNDING *TIME*—96 YEARS ago this week—Henry Luce is most famous for articulating his vision of the American Century. And while that vision takes its name from the U.S., its real focus—closely informed by his formative years abroad in China as the son of missionaries—was the shape of the world.

Today, *TIME* continues to take measure of the world by providing our readers unparalleled access to its most influential figures. Since November 2017, led by International Editor Dan Stewart, *TIME* has published 15 interviews with leaders and leaders-to-be guiding their nations through this extraordinary period of global transformation. These include conversations with the leaders of France, Saudi Arabia, New Zealand, Colombia, Argentina, Thailand, Italy, Brazil (“I am not a troglodyte!” Jair Bolsonaro volunteered during his time with us), Armenia, Pakistan, Iraq, Austria (the world’s youngest head of government), Malaysia (the world’s oldest) and of course the U.S.

FOR THIS WEEK’S ISSUE, Shanghai-based correspondent Charlie Campbell traveled to Dharamsala, in the Indian Himalayas, for a conversation with the spiritual leader of one of the world’s most secluded peoples, the Tibetans. Even as China continues to isolate him and attempts to co-opt Buddhism for its own purposes, Charlie says, “The Dalai Lama didn’t show an iota of bitterness, not to the Chinese government, nor the British or Americans who abandoned Tibet, nor anyone else.” Charlie’s story is accompanied by Ruven Afanador’s intimate photographs taken in and around the Dalai Lama’s private residence, and you can watch video of the interview at time.com/dalai-lama.

This is in fact the third time the Dalai Lama has been on the cover of *TIME*. The first was in 1959, the year the Dalai Lama, then 23, fled Tibet disguised as a soldier. In 2008, the great travel writer and *TIME* contributor Pico Iyer profiled him again as China cracked down on Tibetan freedom demonstrations ahead of the Beijing Olympics.



The Dalai Lama posed for a portrait on Feb. 18 in Dharamsala



1959, top, and 2008 covers

The Buddhist message of interdependence is a powerful one for today, when so many of our challenges are global and yet so much of our globe is deeply fragmented. “The Dalai Lama came across as a kind, genuine, fun-loving person,” says Charlie, who has interviewed the leaders of the Philippines, South Korea and Thailand, among others. “He’s one of a kind.”

Edward

Edward Felsenthal,
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‘I feel like I’m flying.’

MAHMOUD ABU ZEID, Egyptian photojournalist known as Shawkan, after being released from prison on March 4; he spent more than five years behind bars for covering 2013 anti-government protests in Cairo

‘Kim and his evil regime are responsible.’

FRED AND CINDY WARMBIER, parents of Otto Warmbier, the student who died in 2017 after being held captive in North Korea for 17 months; their March 1 statement came after Donald Trump said he believed Kim Jong Un’s claim that he didn’t know the 22-year-old was mistreated. Trump later tweeted that he “of course” holds North Korea responsible for the death.

‘THIS MOMENT TRANSCENDS MICHAEL JACKSON. IT IS MUCH BIGGER THAN ANY ONE PERSON.’

OPRAH WINFREY, media mogul and child-sex-abuse survivor, in a special that aired after the HBO documentary *Leaving Neverland*; she interviewed its two subjects, who say the pop star sexually abused them when they were children

‘An American hero.’

TY COBB, former Trump White House lawyer, when ABC Radio asked his opinion of Special Counsel Robert Mueller, citing Mueller’s service in the Vietnam War

‘I’m not running.’

HILLARY CLINTON, former U.S. Secretary of State and 2016 Democratic presidential nominee, on the 2020 presidential race



\$100

Sum sent to the Cuyahoga County Public Library in Ohio to cover late fees for a 1968 copy of LIFE magazine with the Beatles on the cover, which was returned with an apology note five decades after it was checked out

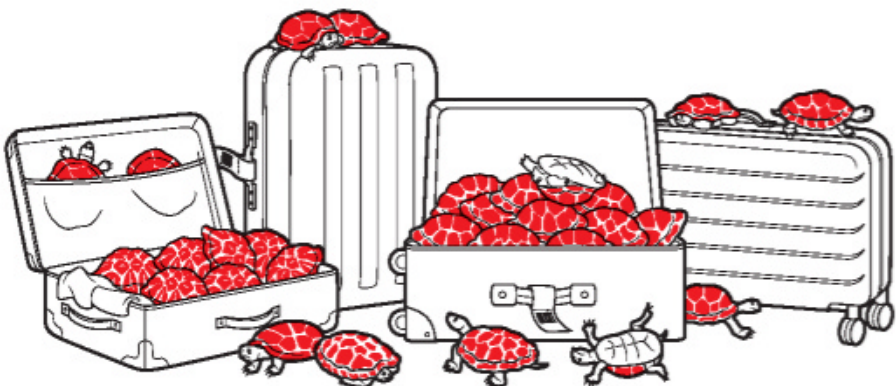
Stone
Judge says Roger Stone’s book and social-media activity may violate gag order



Rock
Actor Dwayne “the Rock” Johnson is buying his dad his dream home

1,529

Number of live exotic turtles, some bound in duct tape, found inside four suitcases abandoned at the airport in Manila on March 3



The Brief

TRIP WIRE
House Democrats
and special
counsel Robert
Mueller have
investigated
Kushner's 2016
meeting with a
Russian banker



INSIDE

EBOLA-CLINIC ATTACKS RAISE
WORRIES ON DISEASE'S SPREAD
IN CONGO

A DEVASTATING TORNADO
LEAVES A SCENE OF
DESTRUCTION IN ALABAMA

THE CREATOR OF BEVERLY
HILLS, 90210 REMEMBERS STAR
LUKE PERRY

PHOTOGRAPH BY CHRISTOPHER MORRIS

NATIONAL SECURITY

Inside the Kushner clearance probe

By Brian Bennett and John Walcott

IT DOESN'T SEEM LIKE THE KIND OF THING JARED Kushner would forget. On Dec. 13, 2016, Donald Trump's son-in-law met with Sergey Gorkov, the head of a multibillion-dollar state-run Russian development bank, who was in the U.S., the bank later said, as part of a new investment strategy. To memorialize the event, Gorkov even gave Kushner a piece of art and a bag of dirt from the village where Kushner's grandparents had grown up. But just one month later, Kushner failed to report the meeting when he applied for permission to view the U.S. government's most closely held secrets.

The episode is emerging as a key moment in what Democrats allege was a much larger Russian effort to exert influence over Trump's inner circle as the President-elect's team prepared to take office in late 2016. As part of a wide-ranging probe into security clearances, House Oversight chair Elijah Cummings is expected to issue the Democrats' first subpoena of the Trump White House for information about the meeting and other contacts, committee member Gerald Connolly tells TIME. Cummings already has demanded all the documents Kushner provided in his security-clearance application as well as those he gave the White House after the request was rejected. In response, Trump's White House lawyer said Congress was overstepping its authority by casting such a wide net, and Trump called the security-clearance investigation "presidential harassment."

But the Gorkov meeting and Kushner's failure to report it helped accelerate the FBI's investigations of Russia's 2016 influence operations, including the inquiry that special counsel Robert Mueller took over five months later, two sources familiar with the probes tell TIME. The Gorkov meeting, and others held by Trump transition figures with then Russian ambassador Sergey Kislyak, these sources say, helped make what had been a relatively slow-moving counterintelligence investigation a top priority.

At issue, these and four other intelligence and law-enforcement officials say, is whether Russia used the business interests of Trump, Kushner and others in an attempt to influence U.S. foreign- and national-security policy, like trying to ease sanctions, soften U.S. opposition to Moscow's expansionist aims and limit American military aid to Ukraine. "It's at the heart of the question about whether Russia has any financial leverage over any members of the Administration," one of the sources tells TIME. "If Jared was an adviser to the incoming President of the United States and trying to profit from that by doing private business with the Russians or anybody else, then he'd have a problem, and his clearance might be the least of it."

THE KUSHNER AND GORKOV face-to-face attracted the attention of FBI investigators from the start. According to the *Washington Post* and *New York Times*, Gorkov is a graduate of the academy of the Federal Security Service, which grooms future



^
Sergey Gorkov, left, then chairman of Russia's Vnesheconombank, meets President Vladimir Putin at the Kremlin on Aug. 3, 2016

Russian spies and Kushner told congressional committees in 2017 that Kislyak had said Gorkov had a direct line into Russian President Vladimir Putin. Moreover, a VEB official, Evgeny Buryakov, pleaded guilty in 2016 to charges he was part of a Russian spy ring in New York; Buryakov's Russian handlers had previously attempted to recruit onetime Trump foreign-policy adviser Carter Page, according to court documents.

Unsurprisingly, the FBI was already watching Gorkov when he arrived in New York City, two law-enforcement officials tell TIME. Gorkov was there, VEB told Reuters in a March 2017 statement, as part of a global tour to launch a new investment strategy that included talking with the head of the Kushner Companies. Since 2014, U.S. Sanctions had prohibited American companies from lending money or buying equity with the bank. A spokeswoman for VEB, contacted for this story, said the bank's explanation for the meeting has not changed.

Kushner, however, has characterized the meeting differently. Testifying before Congress in July 2017, he said the Gorkov meeting lasted just 20 to 25 minutes and involved little more than



an exchange of light pleasantries. Kushner told Congress there was no discussion of personal business, the Kushner Companies, real estate projects or loans. Kushner also said his initial application for a security clearance didn't leave off just the Russia meeting but all foreign contacts, and was inadvertently submitted before it was complete. Kushner, his lawyer and his lawyer's spokesman all declined to comment for this story.

Kushner's problems are compounded by the fact that his family real estate company was in deep financial trouble at the time of the Gorkov meeting. His company was facing \$1.2 billion in debt stemming from vacancies in a 41-story office tower at 666 Fifth Avenue in Manhattan, according to the *New York Times*. Kushner's company was courting funding from a Qatari source, and he had met with officials from Anbang Insurance Group, a massive Chinese financial company, according to the *Washington Post*.

The significance of these meetings, and the Gorkov one, became a source of contention at the highest levels of the Trump White House. After Kushner's January 2017 clearance request was denied, he received temporary permission to view top-secret materials. Trump's

former chief of staff John Kelly and his former White House counsel Don McGahn both wrote internal memos saying they had concerns with issuing Kushner a permanent security clearance, according to the *New York Times*. Trump denies any role in Kushner's clearance.

Intelligence officials remain confounded by the episode. After the President's Inauguration, Kushner had access to the President's Daily Brief and other highly classified materials, thanks to his temporary top-secret clearance, one former and two current U.S. officials tell TIME. The PDB contains some of the most sensitive information about U.S. intelligence sources and methods. "There is no way—given [Kushner's international] meetings, his failure to report them, his financial vulnerabilities and his lack of experience—that he would have been issued a top-secret clearance on any basis and access to the PDB unless the President directed it," one intelligence official says.

FOR THEIR PART, congressional Democrats smell blood. "Why would [Kushner] use a Russian banker who is trained as a spy and is close to Putin as your so-called legitimate avenue of communication to talk about legitimate things?" says Representative Don Beyer, a Democrat from Virginia, referring to the reports of Gorkov's background. Cummings gave the White House until March 4 to comply with his demand for information. The White House refused and has declined to further address the matter. The Democrats now face an early test of how they intend to wield their new power. Issuing a subpoena would likely spark months of legal battles; declining to do so would anger scandal-hungry Democrats everywhere.

So just what was Russia after with its 2016 efforts, and the Gorkov meeting in particular? Moscow has been explicit in its efforts to get sanctions relief and limit U.S. arms sales to Ukraine. Senior U.S. intelligence officials also believe there was a larger Russian aim: to undermine faith in U.S. government. Whatever their other goals, few can dispute that they succeeded in that one. —*With reporting by ALANA ABRAMSON/WASHINGTON and SIMON SHUSTER/BERLIN* □

NEWS TICKER

McSally testifies about sexual assault

Arizona Republican Senator Martha McSally said at a March 6 Senate hearing on sexual assault in the military that **she was raped by a superior officer while serving in the Air Force** and did not report the attack because she "didn't trust the system at the time." She is the second GOP Senator this year to come out as a survivor of sexual assault.

Pope to open Holocaust-era archives early

Pope Francis announced March 4 that archives on **Pope Pius XII, accused of staying silent during the Holocaust**, would be opened in 2020, eight years earlier than scheduled. Jewish groups that had pressured the Vatican to do so while Holocaust survivors were still alive welcomed the news.

Trump kills trade privilege for India

President Donald Trump said March 4 he would **remove India from a program that lowers U.S. duties** on exports from 121 countries. India previously received exemptions on goods worth \$5.6 billion. Trump has frequently criticized the country for its high tariffs.

NEWS TICKER

Trudeau scandal deepens

Jane Philpott, head of the Canadian Treasury Board, on March 4 **became the second member of Prime Minister Justin Trudeau's Cabinet to resign** as scandal threatens his popularity ahead of October elections. Trudeau denies a former minister's allegation that he pressured her to block the prosecution of a friendly company.

No charges in California police shooting

The two police officers who **fatally shot Stephon Clark, an unarmed black man, in his grandmother's Sacramento backyard** last year will not face criminal prosecution, the county district attorney said March 2. The decision prompted protests in the city, where dozens were arrested on March 4.

Algeria's President to run despite protests

Defying two weeks of protests calling for him to step down, Algeria's **President Abdelaziz Bouteflika is still seeking a fifth term** in April elections. The 82-year-old hasn't made a public speech since 2014, and Algerians worry that elites are running the country in his stead.

THE BULLETIN

Attacks on Ebola centers in Congo raise fears that the disease will spread

AFTER A SPATE OF ATTACKS ON EBOLA treatment facilities at the center of an outbreak in the Democratic Republic of Congo, medical charity Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF) suspended operations in the area on Feb. 28. With 894 cases and 561 deaths since the outbreak was declared in August, the epidemic is the second largest on record. In the wake of the attacks, the highly contagious virus is likely to spread.

DIFFICULT DECISION After one clinic was set alight on Feb. 24, dozens of armed men flooded another on Feb. 27, shooting up sanitation facilities and setting more fires. At least one person was killed, and the whereabouts of several patients who fled into the forest—some of whom could be contagious—are unknown. MSF's decision to withdraw was not an easy one for the organization, which was key in ending 2014's West African outbreak. But its on-the-ground emergency coordinator, Emmanuel Massart, told NPR the attacks left him little choice: "When I send my teams, I need to be sure that they are going to come back alive."

THE TRUST PROBLEM Urgently putting into effect an Ebola treatment program can come at the expense of community education. Ebola's initial symptoms resemble those of diseases like malaria, so the newly infected rarely seek help. Most are unaware that patients should be isolated and that the dead, still teeming with the virus, shouldn't be buried in the traditional way. Combine ignorance and fear with eastern Congo's long-simmering guerrilla war and a suspicion of strangers, and violence can erupt. Massart has said that, in retrospect, MSF should have engaged more with locals from the start.

CONTAINING THE SPREAD Health officials are calling on the World Health Organization to declare a public-health emergency of international concern, which would mobilize international aid. But such a declaration often sparks travel restrictions that can cut off vital supply routes and prevent health experts from coming in. As MSF has discovered, progress in defeating Ebola often means taking a step backward for every two steps forward. —ARYN BAKER



PATH OF DESTRUCTION The day after at least 20 tornadoes tore through southeastern states including Alabama on March 3, Jessica Chandler sits amid the wreckage of her neighborhood in Beauregard, Lee County, Alabama, where one tornado carved a path nearly a mile wide and over 24 miles long. Across the state, at least 23 people died—more than double the death toll from all tornadoes nationwide last year.

Milestones

RETURNED

Venezuelan **opposition leader Juan Guaidó**, to Venezuela on March 4, after he defied a court-imposed travel ban in order to canvass support in nearby countries. President Nicolás Maduro had implied that Guaidó could be arrested if he returned.

PUBLISHED

A March 5 report saying **HIV was undetectable in a U.K. patient after a stem-cell transplant**, the second case of its kind. Doctors said it was too early to say he had been cured.

LAUNCHED

The **Crew Dragon spacecraft**, by SpaceX on March 2. The ship, which successfully docked at the International Space Station on March 3, is the first American spacecraft capable of carrying astronauts to launch since NASA retired its space shuttles.

ANNOUNCED

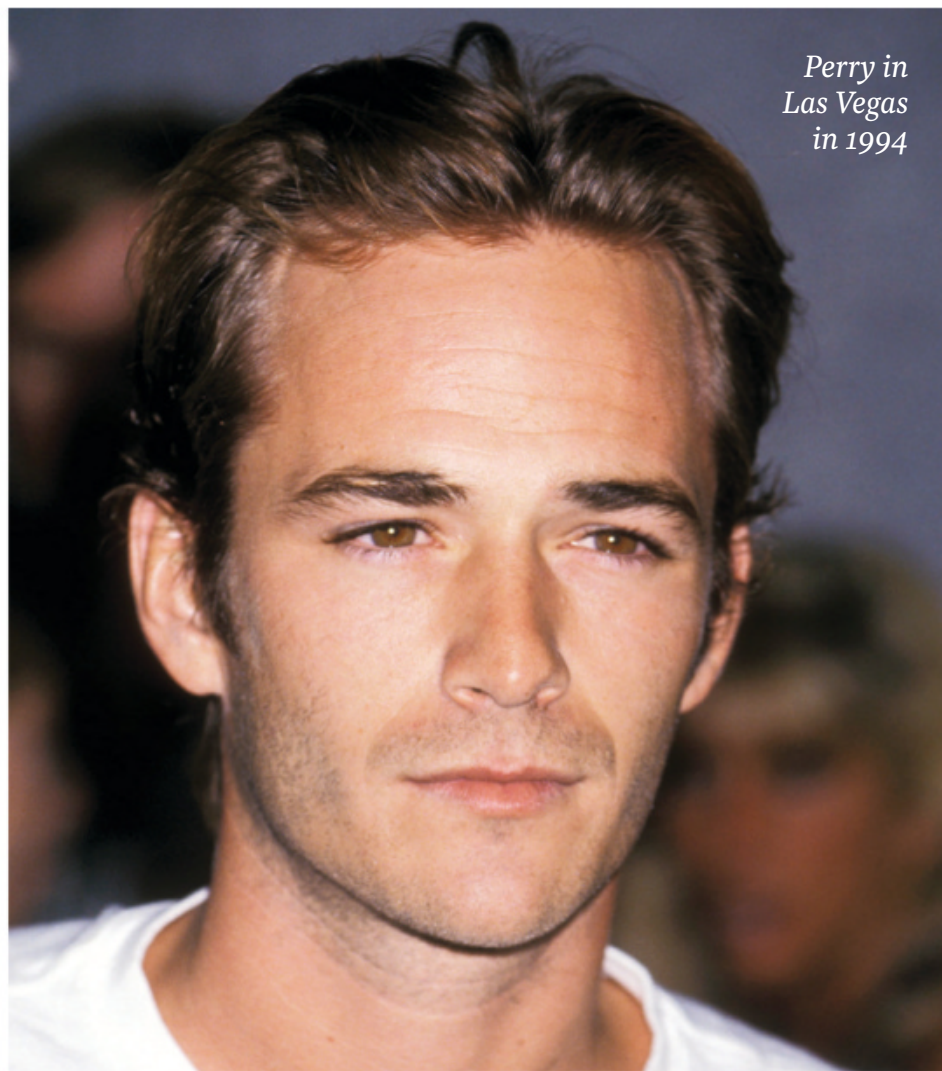
That the **FDA commissioner, Dr. Scott Gottlieb**, will resign by April; President Trump appointed him in 2017.

SUSPENDED

Large-scale military drills by the U.S. and South Korea, the two countries said on March 2. The move is part of Trump's efforts to ease tensions with North Korea.

ANNOUNCED

That hospitals in England will offer **free pads and tampons to patients** starting this summer, by England's National Health Service on March 3.



Perry in Las Vegas in 1994

DIED

Luke Perry Cool incarnate

By Darren Star

THE PILOT OF *BEVERLY HILLS, 90210* HAD BEEN SHOT, BUT the series was missing a secret ingredient: an avatar of cool. It seemed like an impossible role to fill—until Luke Perry walked in the door. He was unforgettable from the moment I met him, in the summer of 1990.

Luke was taking time off from his day job when he came in to read for the role. One day he was paving parking lots, and the next day he was Dylan McKay. Dylan was a sensitive hunk, world-weary and wise beyond his years, with mysteries you could only guess at. Abandoned by his parents, he found his true family with the Walshes and the gang at West Beverly Hills High. Dylan was the wildest, most fascinating, truest friend you could ever have. Though he came from money, he thumbed his nose at the hypocrisy and privilege all around him. Luke created that iconic character by channeling his vulnerability, his strength and his big heart.

And despite the unexpected torrent of fame that followed, Luke—who died on March 4 at 52 after a stroke—always remained Luke. Soulful, sweet and down-to-earth, he led a life that was a master class in graciousness and humility.

The degree to which he touched us all—then and so many years later—is a tribute to his remarkable nature. I am blessed to have known him and to have worked with him, and am heartbroken by his passing.

Star is the creator of television shows including *Beverly Hills, 90210*; he is currently the showrunner of the sixth season of *Younger*

DIED

André Previn Polymath composer

ANDRÉ PREVIN'S IMPACT ON 20th century music was nothing short of sprawling. Previn, who died Feb. 28 at 89, was a conductor, composer, pianist and music director. He won 10 Grammy Awards and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth II in 1996. His work touched genres ranging from classical and jazz to the popular fare of Broadway and Hollywood.

It was this last arena where he first made a name. A child prodigy, Previn began working on MGM film scores while still in high school. He won four Oscars for his work and enjoyed the stardom that came with his increased profile—which only grew when he married Mia Farrow in 1970 after a highly publicized affair that led to Farrow's leaving Frank Sinatra. Turning to classical music, he was named musical director of the Houston Symphony in 1967, later leading the London and Pittsburgh symphonies and the Los Angeles Philharmonic.

His long career served as a reminder that music can transcend categories and that a classical composer can still be a pop-culture figure. His passion, it was clear, rose above changing trends or times: "I don't care where I am," he once said, "I compose."

—ABIGAIL ABRAMS



Grand Canyon National Park's chief ranger **Matthew Vandzura** plans for its next 100 years

By Lily Rothman

IF YOU WANT STRANGERS TO ASK TO TAKE A photo with you, walk around in a park ranger's uniform. As chief ranger at Grand Canyon National Park, Matthew Vandzura knows this well. Even on a winter day, with snow on the ground and only a few dozen tourists at the popular Mather Point outlook, the jovial keeper of the canyon is in high demand. Hardy juniper clings to the ancient rock, a blue-black raven soars above the majestic chasm, and selfie sticks point like fingers toward the open Arizona skies as Vandzura, 51, smiles for snap after snap. On busier days, it's normal for a line to form.

His celebrity may be local, but that spotlight has been shining a little more brightly lately, with the centennial celebration of the Feb. 26, 1919, signing of the act that created Grand Canyon National Park. Of course, the canyon itself is much older—to the tune of maybe 6 million years—so a hundred might sound small. But its place as a national institution is grounded in that moment, and what it looks like after the next 100 years is, in part, in the hands of people like Vandzura, who care for the land America has decided is most worth caring for.

"Our primary responsibility is preservation of the park in a way that allows people to enjoy it," Vandzura says, paraphrasing the 1916 law that established the National Park Service (NPS). They provide opportunities for recreation, he says, "but in a manner that preserves things for future generations." At the canyon, those current and future generations are a lot bigger than Teddy Roosevelt could have imagined when he issued his 1903 plea to "keep this great wonder of nature as it now is." A record 6.38 million people visited last year. "It's well known that Americans love their national parks," Vandzura says. "We're a culture that likes the idea of wide-open spaces." But that appeal presents a challenge: how to keep natural beauty intact, and visitors in awe, even amid the crowds.

Vandzura doesn't have a distinct memory of the first time he saw the canyon. But he was 15, on a family road trip, and he remembers the "immensity" of it. It was on that vacation that he decided to be a backcountry ranger, a goal that took him from a summer gig at a campground in 1988 to jobs including a stint as a seasonal firefighter at Arkansas' Buffalo National River to a period in urban law enforcement at the St. Louis arch. He landed at

VANDZURA QUICK FACTS

Eye in the sky

Vandzura is an avid bird-watcher. Condors are the park's "marquee bird," but his favorite to spot is a zone-tailed hawk.

'Stache story

Many park staffers grew "shutdown beards"; Vandzura turned his into a mustache in solidarity with park firefighters who are required to be clean-shaven on the sides.

Advice for park visitors

"Don't go so far that what you remember about your hike is how ridiculously hard it was."

Grand Canyon, for the second time, in late 2015.

Here, he faces the question of how to modernize an ancient natural wonder. An education campaign about safe hiking has already reduced the need for search-and-rescue missions. A smart parking system is being designed, a major advance for a village that was built for wagons. Vandzura wants to work even more closely with the Native American communities that call the area home, and convey to tourists that they can take their dollars to the reservations too. An app to reach visitors with such information is in development, though cell service in the park is limited; possibly bringing fiber optic to Grand Canyon Village is also being considered.

The staff is "dedicated to trying as many things as we can before we limit visitation," Vandzura says. But they do talk about it, "when it's August and all the parking spaces are filled and people are literally just driving in circles."

And all this is only what Vandzura says constitute micro-level problems. The macro challenges for the next 100 years include everything from uranium mining in the region to management of the dam that controls the flow of the Colorado River through the park. Scientists predict that national parks will, on average, see the impact of climate change more severely than the rest of the U.S. And as the American Southwest faces water shortages, the question of how to both nurture and make use of the river will only become more urgent.

The Grand Canyon exists on the scale of deep time, and little we humans do can change it; the Grand Canyon exists today and the choices people make will affect its future. Reconciling these two truths can be difficult. But this is a place that has always tested the mind's perspective. That's why the park offers visitors mirrored panels called reflectoscopes, used by landscape artists to focus on just a slice at a time of an overwhelming vista. Without some remove, the view is unfathomable. "The common reaction from friends and family," Vandzura says, "is that it doesn't look real."

BUT THE MILE-DEEP CANYON is very real. And in many ways, taking care of it is just like any job. Back at headquarters, in his spacious but utilitarian office, Vandzura acknowledges that problems facing other industries face the park too. That includes a reckoning with workplace sexual harassment: a shattering 2016 report exposed abuses among park staff who worked the river at Grand Canyon. In the years since, NPS has reworked its antiharassment policy. Separately, park superintendent Christine Lehnertz, who has been seen as a champion of antiharassment measures, was recently investigated for accusations of "bullying and retaliatory behavior," particularly toward men. A March 5 inspector general's report found "no



evidence” supporting the claims against her.

Vandzura is proud of the progress made, although he knows there’s still work to be done. “Our people are more important than our resources,” Vandzura says. “If you have to decide, you take care of people so you can take care of the mission.” Taking care of people doesn’t just mean worrying about the rangers on his crew. About 3,000 people live between the South Rim and the nearby town of Tusayan—Vandzura and his wife, a retired nurse, included—and the NPS is essentially their only government. That means being chief ranger is like being a small-town police chief. “We have the same problems in our community that any small town in America has,” Vandzura says, although those problems are filtered through the thin air of the canyon, where isolation means a lack of formal support systems.

That duty to the community was apparent during the recent partial government shutdown—the sixth Vandzura has weathered. The park itself stayed open; Arizona law allows the state to donate money to ensure as much, in recognition of its vital economic role. Vandzura says that, because

‘We’re a culture that likes the idea of wide-open spaces.’

MATTHEW VANDZURA, on Americans’ love of the national parks

he’s required to have funds in hand before keeping operations going, a member of Arizona Governor Doug Ducey’s staff drove out to meet him on a Saturday with a physical check. Even so, he estimates that more than two-thirds of staff stayed home, and a local pantry distributed 30,000 lb. of food while it lasted. Toilet-paper consumption was used to figure out that more people than usual visited during that time, but rangers couldn’t welcome them, scientific studies paused and maintenance lagged.

So, like any job, work here can sometimes feel like a slog. The difference is the cure. When it stops feeling like “the adventure they promised me in the back of the *Boys’ Life* magazine,” Vandzura just spends some time admiring the scenery he’s there to protect. Unsurprisingly, the Grand Canyon can make a person’s problems seem small. You see that, given enough time, even rocks and rivers change.

“We are a little blip in geologic time. You still need to do good work for the people who surround you, but it helps put things in perspective,” he says. “Even though it’s empty space, you can still sort of feel it when you’re by yourself out on the edge.” □

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TheView

POLITICS

CAN CLIMATE ROCK THE VOTE?

By Justin Worland

Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump didn't face a single question about global warming during the 2016 debates. Now, with freakish wildfires, flooded coastlines and a President who denies the science, the issue is seared in voters' minds. Some politicians say the 2020 election will be the one in which climate finally breaks through. ▶

INSIDE

THE CANDIDATE WHO
COULD OUST BENJAMIN
NETANYAHU FROM POWER

WHY PARENTS IN THE
U.S. OBSESS OVER THEIR
KIDS' EDUCATION

THE CONTINUED DEFIANCE
OF R. KELLY IN THE FACE
OF ABUSE ALLEGATIONS

TheView Opener

It's more than 19 months until the next presidential election, and already every leading Democratic candidate has cited climate change as a key issue. Many of the top contenders, from Bernie Sanders to Kamala Harris, have endorsed a Green New Deal, a congressional resolution that calls for the U.S. to decarbonize by 2030. And one candidate, Washington Governor Jay Inslee, has built his entire campaign around battling the impending crisis. "Beating climate change has to be the first priority of the United States," he says.

This is a sharp turn from recent years—and a move that might seem, at first glance, an odd way to appeal to the average American voter. National polls show that climate continues to rank low on lists of voter priorities, and received wisdom has it that Democrats fared well in the 2018 midterms by focusing on kitchen-table issues.

"You can get into a vicious cycle," says Senator Sheldon Whitehouse, a Rhode Island Democrat who has pushed for climate-change measures in the Senate. "When Democratic leaders see climate as a No. 7 issue ... we don't talk about it, and it stays a No. 7 issue."

But political analysts caution that the national debate doesn't tell the full story. The Democratic base cares deeply about climate change, according to a survey by the Yale Program on Climate Communication, and a February poll from the Center for American Progress suggests that the issue may be especially relevant in five early-voting states where Democratic primary voters ranked climate as their top concern, alongside health care.

Moreover, while Republican voters may still rank climate change relatively low among their concerns, they also see their party's position on the issue as increasingly unpopular. Nearly two-thirds of Republicans said their party was "outside the mainstream" on climate, according to a February NBC News/*Wall Street Journal* survey.

For voters still on the fence about the issue's urgency, activists think they've figured out how best to talk about climate in tangible terms.

► Jay Inslee's campaign is all about climate

Leaders of the Sunrise Movement, an activist group composed primarily of young people, have embraced political messaging that links a warming planet to unemployment and poverty and that frames climate solutions as a way to create jobs and clean up communities. "We're actually talking about the real-life issues that Americans are facing," says Varshini Prakash, Sunrise's executive director.

CLIMATE CHANGE will no doubt eventually join the pantheon of presidential election topics, activists say. The question is whether it happens soon enough. An October report from the U.N.'s Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change shows that the world must cut carbon dioxide emissions in half by 2030 just to keep temperatures from rising more than 1.5°C by 2100—a level that, scientists say, will kill off coral reefs and unleash mass climate-related migration.

In light of such looming catastrophe, activists are demanding that presidential contenders commit to making climate their uncontested top priority when they take office—not a project for the second term. "You need to hear from the candidates that this is going to be a priority from day one," says Christy Goldfuss, who chaired President Obama's Council on Environmental Quality and is now a senior vice president at the Center for American Progress. She adds that candidates need to commit to using "all aspects of the government" to address the challenge.

If recent history is any guide, the next President is likely to have one shot at passing a big piece of signature legislation. Obama had health care; Trump had the tax bill. If a sweeping climate-change bill is the next President's second or third priority, it could be easily edged out by another politically urgent issue.

As 2020 draws nearer, the warming planet itself may become the most powerful political messenger. With the effects of climate change showing up on our doorsteps in the form of strange weather and devastating natural disasters, candidates' preferred agendas may turn out to be less important than voters' desire to see the issue at center stage. □

SHORT READS

► Highlights from stories on time.com/ideas

Trump's defeat through victory

The President's former lawyer Michael Cohen told Congress on Feb. 27 that Trump saw his campaign as "the greatest infomercial in political history." This indifference to winning, suggests TIME's former editor-in-chief Nancy Gibbs, helped make Trump a successful candidate: **"He could take any risk, break any rule, because he literally had nothing to lose."**

The privilege of security clearance

For former CIA officer Emily Brandwin, getting her top-secret clearance was challenging and exhausting. If Jared Kushner got his because his father-in-law ordered it, she writes, it's a serious threat to our national security and **"a slap in the face to public servants."**

Reconsidering a common death ritual

Since her mother's death over 20 years ago, Sallie Tisdale has come to believe that **embalming makes it harder for us to mourn and causes us greater pain:** "What good is served by turning away from the fact of loss?"



THE RISK REPORT

An Israeli general presents the first real threat to Netanyahu in a decade

By Ian Bremmer



“NO ISRAELI LEADER is a king,” says Benny Gantz, the man hoping to unseat Prime Minister Benjamin Netanyahu. On April 9, Israelis will

go to the polls for an election that will decide whether it’s time for the leader many know as King Bibi to leave the stage. Netanyahu is fighting for a new mandate and a fifth term.

This may well be Bibi’s last stand. The country’s Attorney General has announced he intends to indict him on fraud, bribery and breach-of-trust charges in three separate criminal cases, although formal charges can’t be filed until after a hearing that won’t begin until votes have been cast. Gantz, Netanyahu’s former army chief, has mounted a formidable challenge—partnering with Netanyahu’s former Finance Minister Yair Lapid to form a centrist alliance. Netanyahu, meanwhile, has been forced to turn to far-right parties to find potential coalition partners.

Gantz is a compelling character. He lacks Netanyahu’s charisma and grandiosity. He has tried to appeal to voters as a fresh face, free from past political entanglements. The child of Holocaust survivors, he tends to speak softly and carefully, even when calling the Prime Minister a would-be monarch. It’s an effective contrast with Netanyahu, a man of cigars and champagne. “I have always kept my hands clean,” Gantz says.

Despite sharply contrasting personal styles, it’s unclear how much they differ on actual policy issues. In part, that’s because Gantz grants very few interviews and remains deliberately vague on economic plans. It’s also because on security policy, he has worked hard to convince voters that he’s neither soft nor a man of the left, as his former boss portrays him.

Like Netanyahu, Gantz has avoided

committing himself for or against an independent Palestinian state, but he also wants voters to believe he’ll be as uncompromising as Netanyahu in facing down adversaries. He talks tough on Hamas, Iran and Lebanon’s Hizballah. He boasts about the aggressiveness of operations he commanded in Gaza and the number of “terrorists” his troops have killed there. He promises to keep Jerusalem undivided, the Golan Heights defended and the West Bank under full Israeli security control.

He refers to his alliance with Lapid as Blue and White, for the colors of Israel’s flag. In a country where a dozen army chiefs have entered politics and two have become Prime Minister, national security remains a national priority. And Gantz’s strategy makes sense, because Netanyahu’s tough stance on security has worked for Israel—even as it infuriates his critics, foreign and domestic.

It might not be enough. There’s a reason Netanyahu is just one election victory away from replacing founding

father David Ben-Gurion as the longest-serving Prime Minister in Israel’s history. He’s a shrewd politician with both a talent for exploiting grievance and a record of genuine accomplishment. Over the past decade, he has successfully wooed the Presidents of both the U.S. and Russia. He has improved relations with the Arab world without offering much to Palestinians. He has courted India and China. Israel has remained secure, and its economy has proved resilient and strong. His party, Likud, has held the Prime Minister’s office for 31 of the past 42 years. Gantz, on the other hand, has no political experience.

But in an era when voters in the U.S., Britain, France, Italy, Brazil, Mexico and elsewhere have voted against their political establishments in favor of transformative change, Israeli voters may look beyond policy proposals and past successes to boost a new voice. □

In a country where a dozen army chiefs have entered politics, national security remains a national priority

EDUCATION

Why American parents can’t afford to relax

American parents are often told to be more like Scandinavians and encourage free play and discovery. But what many don’t realize is that a lot of the way they raise their children is dictated by economics.

Within the industrialized world, the U.S. has the highest income inequality. Education plays a big role: college-educated workers earn about twice as much on average as their less-educated peers. Compare this with Sweden, where economic inequality is much lower, admissions are less competitive, and the gap in earnings between those who attend college and those who don’t is narrower. If some of the choices of parents in the U.S. seem overly invasive, this merely reflects the high stakes in educational achievement.

Instead of critiquing parents, Americans should press for policy changes, including access to high-quality preschool for all children, more-equal school funding and investments in vocational training. Only if they succeed will parents be able to embrace a more relaxed approach to raising their kids.

—Matthias Doepke and Fabrizio Zilibotti



What justice looks like for R. Kelly's accusers

By dream hampton

WHEN R. KELLY TURNED HIMSELF IN TO CHICAGO POLICE last month after being charged with criminal sexual abuse, my Twitter mentions exploded mostly with celebration. After he thrived professionally for years despite the numerous allegations against him, there was the sense that his accusers might finally see justice. But what does that mean exactly?

As executive producer of *Surviving R. Kelly*, a documentary series aimed at shedding light on these women's stories, I've spent a lot of time thinking about this question. While it is an unquestionably good thing that R. Kelly may face consequences for what they claim he did to them, my feelings about the situation have been complicated.

R. Kelly, who pleaded not guilty on all counts and was defiant in an interview with Gayle King that aired on CBS March 6, faces up to 70 years behind bars. Many people believe that landing him there was my goal and the goal of the survivors who spoke to me. It was not.

I ended each interview by asking the women what they'd want to say to him should he be watching. Without fail, each of them pleaded with him to "get help," to "just stop" hurting girls and women like them. Not one made it through our interview without being upended by her trauma and pain. Several needed breaks to regain their composure. It was wrenching. Yet

when they considered what justice might be for an accused serial predator, they never used the words *jail* or *prison*. They wished for him a healing, that he face and own the harm he has caused. When they talked of his needing help, I understood them to mean some combination of professional therapy and spiritual healing. In postproduction, I scoured the footage for some departure, but no, each of them had given this answer.

I wasn't entirely surprised. As black women we understand that our criminal-justice system is not just a broken one that denies black people justice, but also an extension of slavery, built to warehouse black people. Historically, we've talked only about this system harming black men, denying all the ways that black women are targeted from girlhood. And although black feminists have tried to disrupt this self-subjugating, we still think of issues like police violence, issues that affect all black people, as affecting only "our black men." This is our default, and it is this deep hardwiring that informs these women's compassion for R. Kelly.

▼
Protesters gather near R. Kelly's former recording studio in Chicago after the release of *Surviving R. Kelly* in January



Each of them pleaded with him to 'get help,' to 'just stop' hurting girls and women like them

But the women I interviewed were also articulating a principle that many of us who've been working to dismantle the prison-industrial complex often call for: a restorative justice process. This requires that at the very least the harm caused be acknowledged, and I don't believe prisons are a place where such rehabilitation can happen. I struggle to call myself an abolitionist, but I am always contending with the tension in seeking protection from a system that continues to do the black community so much harm. And yet I also understand why so many people who support R. Kelly's accusers think his being back in that same system may somehow mean justice is coming.

WHEN I BEGAN THIS PROJECT, I hoped R. Kelly would experience a social death. I wanted *Surviving R. Kelly* to do to his

catalog and tours what *Blackfish* did to SeaWorld. I wanted to remind his fans that the not-guilty verdict in his 2008 child-pornography case does not mean he is innocent. I still want that, but not *only* that.

I believe the women I interviewed for *Surviving R. Kelly*, and I want R. Kelly to reckon with their claims. Instead, during his interview with King, in which he loomed over her and erupted with rage, he cast himself as the victim, avoided

her straightforward question about sex with underage girls and said the parents begging for contact with their young daughters who live with him are to blame.

Given his continued denial, deflection and histrionics, it's clear he's no candidate for restorative justice. Perhaps jail is the only place for him. The system so often fails victims of sexual violence. I'm hoping this time it doesn't.

hampton is the executive producer and showrunner for Lifetime's *Surviving R. Kelly* and executive producer for HBO's *It's a Hard Truth Ain't It* and BET's *Finding Justice*



A 1-year-old boy in Seattle gets a vaccine amid a measles outbreak in the Pacific Northwest

HEALTH

As measles outbreaks continue, provaccine policies get a voice

By Jamie Ducharme

ETHAN LINDENBERGER WENT 18 YEARS without getting a single vaccine. His mother, fueled by antivaccine content she read on Facebook, believed that vaccines cause autism and brain damage, he says. But after researching the science, the Ohio teen decided in December, when he became an adult, to catch up on his shots. “Addressing misinformation properly can cause change, as it did for me,” Lindemberger said on March 5 before a Senate committee meeting about vaccines and preventable-disease outbreaks.

Vaccine skepticism, often spread through social media, is driving the U.S.’s ongoing outbreaks of measles, a disease that has sickened 206 people in 11 states this year. But provaccine voices like Lindemberger’s are now the ones getting more attention.

Sites like Facebook, YouTube and Pinterest have recently taken steps to curb antivaccine content. And in several states—including Washington, where measles outbreaks are fierce—lawmakers are moving to tighten lax laws that allow parents to opt out of vaccinating their children for personal or philosophical reasons. But support is not universal: lawmakers in Arizona are trying to weaken laws there to make exemp-

tions even easier. In February, outgoing Food and Drug Administration commissioner Dr. Scott Gottlieb hinted at someday instating federal vaccine policies if state exemptions continue to allow outbreaks—a proposal criticized by both states’-rights and antivaccine advocates.

There are also signs that vaccine skepticism is starting to wane as the outbreaks intensify. In Clark County, Washington, where about 70 people have gotten measles, clinicians requested six times more measles vaccines this January than last, health officials said. In Brooklyn, where an outbreak has sickened 121 members of the Orthodox Jewish community, 7,000 people have gotten shots after urging from city officials.

Changing policies are only starting to catch up to science. Health agencies have steadfastly supported immunization for years, and research has many times debunked the discredited notion that vaccines cause autism. In March, a large new study again found no link between the measles vaccine and autism. In the U.S., “as many as 90,000 adults die each year from vaccine-preventable diseases,” says Dr. Sandra Fryhofer, an Atlanta-based internist and past president of the American College of Physicians. “We know that vaccines save lives.” □

11

The number of states with reported measles cases in 2019

you asked

What’s the best machine at the gym?

Most exercise machines are engineered to train specific muscles, so each is effective in its own way. But if you want total-body training in the least amount of time, the rowing machine, air bike and stair-climbing machine are great options, says Chris Gagliardi, a certified personal trainer and weight-management coach with the American Council on Exercise.

On a **rowing machine**, “you drive through your hips and legs to start the rowing movement, you have to activate your core to maintain posture, and then you have arm, shoulder and back involvement,” he says. Those motions make it a good aerobic workout that also trains a diverse set of muscles.

The **air bike** also provides an excellent combination of lower-body training (a given for any kind of cycling) and aerobics. Pedaling in foot straps works your knee and hip muscles, Gagliardi says, while the push-pull action of the upright handles gets your upper body involved.

Another versatile machine, the **stair climber** also builds functional strength—meaning it works the muscles and movements you use frequently in everyday life. Especially as you age and poor balance or stability become concerns, functional exercises are a great way to maintain your physical capabilities.

—Markham Heid

World

Border Hustle

ONE FAMILY'S TREACHEROUS TRIP THROUGH
THE MIGRANT-SMUGGLING INDUSTRY

BY JAY ROOT

IN PARTNERSHIP WITH THE *TEXAS TRIBUNE*



Heyli, 7, and her dad Carlos were separated for nearly two months last year after they sought asylum at the border with Texas

Carlos had been thinking about migrating to the U.S. since he was a kid.

In San Francisco de la Paz, a valley outpost ringed by lush hills in the lawless “Wild East” of Honduras, about the only business that’s booming is home construction—fueled by American dollars sent home each month from migrants living in the U.S. Remittances from former villagers helped Carlos scratch out a living, but with every dab of mortar he splashed on vacant homes, he longed to join their owners.

Making \$13 a day as a construction worker, he could barely afford to take care of his wife and daughter, let alone help his parents buy medicine for a range of ailments including diabetes, high blood pressure and thyroid disease. Plus, the street violence that has ravaged Honduras hit too close to home a few years ago, when a cousin was murdered by suspected drug traffickers.

So last year, Carlos, 25, did what most Hondurans do when it’s time to get out: he approached one of the three local smugglers who operate in rural San Francisco de la Paz, which has a population of about 20,000. The smuggler gave him a price: \$7,000 to cross the Rio Grande and seek asylum—but only if he took his little girl and they surrendered to the U.S. Border Patrol on the other side. Otherwise it would cost \$10,000 to traverse Mexico and then evade a gauntlet of law enforcement at the border and the interior checkpoints beyond.

Carlos’ wife Claudia pushed back. She feared sending their only daughter Heyli, who was 6 at the time, on a nearly 1,700-mile journey in uncertain conditions. She’d heard grisly stories of migrants suffocating in 18-wheelers or getting assaulted on the long trek through Mexico. Why couldn’t Carlos go by himself? “I told [the smuggler] many times, ‘Better alone,’” Claudia recalls. “But he said, ‘No, it will be easier, better with the girl.’” And cheaper.

The decision was wrenching. Leaving would break up their tiny family and require them to go deep into



THE SMUGGLER’S MENU

\$10,000

For a single adult to be driven all the way to Houston

\$7,500

For a single adult to be driven to the U.S.-Mexico border, then picked up after he or she walks around a Texas checkpoint 80 miles north of it

\$6,000

For a parent and child to be delivered to the U.S. side of the Rio Grande, where they can turn themselves in and seek asylum

debt. But Carlos and Claudia always dreamed of an easier life for Heyli, away from the grinding poverty of Honduras. So the deal was struck.

Thousands of Central Americans are making the same calculation every month. Despite the Trump Administration’s “zero tolerance” policy designed to deter illegal border crossing, the apprehension of “family units” on the U.S.-Mexico border has skyrocketed to record levels in recent months, according to the Border Patrol. In the past five months, Border Patrol agents were apprehending family units at a rate 338% higher than in the same period a year earlier.

Unlike the attention-grabbing caravans that have been making their way to Tijuana, the movements of migrants who hire smugglers—and most migrants do—are not tracked by media outlets or in President Donald Trump’s Twitter feed. Like Carlos and Heyli, they slip through Mexico with smugglers, known as coyotes, who bribe cartels and corrupt cops and immigration agents along the way. (Carlos is a pseudonym; the rest of his family members are referred to in this story by their real first names.)

The money that desperate people are willing to scrape together to get to the U.S. has turned humans into commodities that pay their own freight. According to a 2018 U.N. report, the migrant-smuggling industry was worth \$5.7 billion to \$7 billion worldwide in 2016. Since the U.S. remains the top destination



✓ Migrants walk along a Mexican federal highway near Palenque, Chiapas, in October



✗ The journey to the U.S. often includes a boat trip on the Usumacinta River, between Guatemala and Mexico

for migrants, the North American market is the crown jewel of the global smuggling trade.

It's a system that runs on people like Carlos and his family, who are willing to carve up their meager assets to pay off a sophisticated network of smugglers, cartels, stash houses, drivers and lookouts. "It's like a cake," a coyote who goes by the nickname Sultan said in an interview. "Everyone gets their little piece."

IN GANG-INFESTED HONDURAS, Sultan's piece of the cake is big money. He estimates he makes \$700 to \$800 a head on his clients, which can add up to around \$3,000 every two weeks—a small fortune in Central America.

Sultan, whose prices vary slightly from other smugglers', offers his clients three package deals. There's a \$10,000 VIP plan, for a single adult to be driven all the way to Houston. There's a \$7,500 deal for single adults to be delivered to the border, from which they make their own way by foot around a checkpoint 80 miles north of it before getting picked back up. Finally, there's the popular bargain-basement deal: for \$6,000, Sultan will arrange to deposit a parent and child on the U.S. side of a South Texas riverbank, at which point they are left to turn themselves in to U.S. border officials and claim asylum. (Carlos and Heyli, who paid a different smuggler, were charged a higher rate for the same arrangement.) It is the cheapest option because it frees coyotes of the cost and the hassle of delivering their clients to the U.S. interior, explains Sultan. He also recommends that adults bring a child because when they do so they are typically released by immigration authorities to await a court date. Single adults, by contrast, are usually sent to detention centers.

Although taking Heyli offered a steep discount, Carlos and Claudia still didn't have the money to pay off their smuggler, who needed roughly half his \$7,000 fee up front to get the pair to Reynosa, a Mexican city just across the Rio Grande from McAllen, Texas. The other half would help pay off the Gulf Cartel, a crime syndicate that charges a "tax" of \$1,000 to

\$1,500 per person to let migrants cross its territory.

The cartel began trafficking booze across the border during Prohibition before switching to narcotics decades ago. More recently, it has increasingly turned to human cargo for a variety of macroeconomic and geopolitical reasons. Marijuana-legalization efforts have driven down prices in the U.S., while periodic crackdowns on border crossings over the past 15 years have driven up the amount the cartel can charge migrants for allowing them safe passage.

Carlos was counting on a network of friends and family from San Francisco de la Paz to help him pull together the second half of the money once he got to the border. But that still left him more than \$3,000 short of the up-front cost. So Claudia was stunned one Monday last May when Carlos came home early from his construction job, two blocks down their unpaved street, and asked her to start packing a bag for their daughter. "Get Heyli's things together because we're leaving tomorrow," he said.

"How did you get the money?" Claudia asked. He told her the coyote had offered to take them on credit, backed by a relative's land. Carlos would pay back the money once he started working in the U.S. "We're leaving at 4 a.m.," he said.

Claudia felt blindsided, overcome by a mixture of fear for her daughter and hope that the journey might bring her a better life. She gathered the items Heyli would need for an international journey—shot records, birth certificate, three days' worth of clothes—and stuffed them into her purple school backpack. At that point, the family had no idea what to expect. They didn't know the Trump

World

Administration had begun separating children from their parents at the U.S. border. They knew only what they'd learned from the smuggler: the trip would be *mejor con la niña*. Better and cheaper with the girl.

The night before they left, Heyli was bursting with excitement. Carlos had told her they were going to visit her Aunt Lilian; Heyli didn't realize she lived thousands of miles away, in Southern California. "Mami! I'm leaving, and I'll be back in two days," she gushed.

"Yes, my love," Claudia responded, fighting back tears. "Don't worry. You're going to come back."

ON THE MORNING of May 15, Carlos and Heyli began the long journey to America. The first leg was easy. Hondurans can travel freely through neighboring Guatemala, so Carlos and Heyli took public transportation all the way to a tiny Guatemalan village called La Técnica, perched on the Usumacinta River. It sits across from touristy Frontera Corozal, downriver from the Mayan ruins of Yaxchilán, in the Mexican state of Chiapas.

La Técnica is a tiny town with only one visible industry: the movement of people. Up and down its lone commercial strip, merchants hawk everything from fried chicken to phone cards to the roughly 300 migrants who pass through the village each day on their way to the U.S. Every few hours, buses drop off a new load of migrants. "In La Técnica, migration isn't just a part of the economy," says Stephanie Leutert, a University of Texas at Austin migration expert who visited the town in October. "Migration is the economy."

From La Técnica, Carlos and Heyli took a \$2 motorboat ride to the Mexican side, where they slipped into a private car waiting for them on the riverbank. The next day they were in Villahermosa, a hub for Central American migrants heading north. Their smugglers took them to a two-story stash house filled with about two dozen migrants. After three days, the crowd had swelled to more than 100, each assigned to one of the thin white mattresses that covered nearly every inch of floor. The migrants were treated rudely, Carlos remembers, and forbidden to go outside. But they were fed fried eggs and allowed to phone their families back home. Heyli was happy to have plenty of young playmates.

After the third day, Carlos and Heyli boarded a tractor trailer that went from stash house to stash house, picking up dozens of other migrants. Thanks to a friendly fellow migrant who'd paid extra to travel in the cab, Carlos and Heyli were allowed to join her in the back seat with a dozen others, behind the driver. There, covered with curtains, they rode 400 miles to Puebla. The rest of the migrants, including children, were stuffed like sardines in the back of the trailer, crouching and kneeling as the truck



WHAT CARLOS PAID

\$7,000

to hire a smuggler to take him and Heyli to the U.S.-Mexico border, including:

\$3,000

to the Gulf Cartel for a password allowing travel through gang territory

5%

monthly interest to a local loan shark for \$2,000 to cover the balance of their trip, with the family's house as collateral

breezed through law-enforcement checkpoints.

As the hours dragged on, Heyli grew tired and began asking for her mom. "It won't be much longer before we get to your aunt's house," Carlos told her. "She has some gifts for you."

On the next legs of the journey—from Puebla though Mexico City, Monterrey and finally up to the border with Texas—Carlos and Heyli took regular buses alongside Mexican travelers. But life was about to become more difficult. Up until then, their trip had been prepaid: the food, the stash houses, the bribes. When they got to Reynosa, everything changed.

TOURISTS NO LONGER ROAM the streets of Reynosa, Mexico, a border town just south of McAllen, Texas. Once known for its boozy nightlife and binational maquiladora industry, the city has seen some of the fiercest cartel shoot-outs in the country in recent years. But as tourism shriveled, a thriving human-trafficking industry has bloomed.

Just ask 31-year-old Ramon, who has been in the smuggling business here for most of his life. At 17, he started out as a lookout for stash houses, eventually working his way up to coyote. When Ramon began smuggling migrants to the U.S., he paid the



▲
Claudia, right, and her mother Suyapa
at their home in Honduras

Gulf Cartel about \$50 a head for his clients to ford the Rio Grande. But over time, heightened U.S. border-security measures helped push up the fees. In the early 2000s, migrants paid \$1,000 to \$3,000 for a coyote's help crossing the border, according to a 2017 Department of Homeland Security report. Now smugglers' fees average double and triple that.

With U.S. marijuana prices down and much of Mexico's cocaine moving through other routes, Ramon says migrants have become the Gulf Cartel's main profit center. The cartel tells him whom he can take across and when, and charges him \$1,200 per migrant for the privilege of using its territory. "Everything is controlled by the cartel," Ramon says. "Since drugs aren't booming, their business now is also people ... It gives them more profit. It's easy money and fast."

The cartel assigns each smuggler what's known as a *clave*—a password that coyotes then pass on to their customers to prove they have paid for passage. Migrants who can't furnish a *clave* in Reynosa, the kidnapping capital of Mexico, are held until they pay ransom or are forced to work for the cartels. Or they simply disappear. "If you don't pay they will capture you. They will f-ck you up," says Sultan, the Honduran coyote. "They'll either kill you or get more money from your family."

When Carlos and Heyli arrived at a safe house in Reynosa in late May, they found themselves in a tough spot. The friends Carlos was counting

on to wire the money hadn't come through. Panicked, Carlos called his father José. Carlos told him he needed about \$3,000 to pay the cartel. "I told him not to worry, that we would find a way to get the money," José recalls. "We didn't sleep a night or two, thinking of how we were going to get it." Claudia quickly sold a couple of televisions and a phone, and Carlos' mother sold a television set too. Then some cousins chipped in. But the family was still about \$2,000 short.

So they did what many Central American families have done. They borrowed the money from a loan shark, at 5% monthly interest, and put up their house as collateral. It's the house Carlos' parents live in, built with remittances from their undocumented daughter, Lilian, who for the past 14 years has been wiring home what she saves each month from fast-food jobs in California. Now the one-story cinder-block house was financing a tiny transaction in a vast smuggling ecosystem nourished by the desperation of migrants like her brother. "There was no other choice," Claudia says, "other than to pawn it."

In the meantime, Carlos and Heyli waited. Nobody told him where their family's money was going or who was in charge of the territory they needed to cross. "They only say that the quicker you pay, the quicker you get out of there," Carlos says.

On May 25, he and Heyli were taken from the safe house in Reynosa to another one near the Rio Grande that was decorated with candlelit altars and statues of a female folk saint popular with gangsters. Tattoos of the saint—a skeletal figure resembling the Grim Reaper, known as St. Death—covered the arms of the men inside. "They apparently worship *la Santa Muerte*," Carlos says. "You can tell they're with the cartel." Heyli was scared. "This is giving me goose bumps," she told her father. Carlos comforted her, trying not to let his little girl see the fear in his own eyes.

After about 45 minutes, Carlos and Heyli were taken to the river, where they climbed into an inflatable raft with five other migrants and gave the smugglers the cartel's *clave*. With the payment confirmed, they pushed off from the Mexican riverbank and paddled toward the U.S. As the raft floated across, the smugglers took a cell-phone video of their passage, which was later sent to Carlos' family in Honduras to show the delivery was complete.

"We could see [Heyli and Carlos] in the raft, and then they crossed and went into what looked like a forest," Carlos' father José recalls. "I said, 'Thank God,' because that was the hardest part." But within days, Carlos' family would discover the hardest part was yet to come.

WHEN THEY SET FOOT in the U.S. at last, Carlos and Heyli did what their smuggler had instructed: they walked down a road near the river, looking for U.S.

World

Border Patrol agents so they could turn themselves in and ask for asylum. When they found the officials, they were taken to a chilly processing facility known as *la hielera*, the icebox, and fingerprinted.

What happened next was a radical departure from what countless asylum seekers have experienced for decades. On May 29, government agents told Carlos they were taking him to the federal courthouse in McAllen, where he would be charged under Trump's "zero tolerance" policy with the misdemeanor crime of crossing the U.S. border without authorization. The agents told Carlos that Heyli would have to stay at the holding facility while he was at court. But they assured him she would soon be returned to him. As Carlos let Heyli slip from his arms, she began to cry. "Don't leave me here," she said, reaching for her dad. "Where are they taking you?"

"Don't worry," Carlos told the child. "I'm going to see someone, and then I will be right back." Agents took Carlos in leg chains to the courthouse, where he remembers pleading guilty in a mass trial with roughly 60 other migrants. He returned to *la hielera* expecting to find Heyli. But she was gone.

Carlos, now worried, began asking after his daughter, but no one would give him a straight answer. One official told him that the girl couldn't be with criminals. Another said that Heyli was in different cell. Yet another said she'd been sent to California to stay with his sister Lilian, the aunt Heyli thought she visiting during their journey north.

None of those explanations turned out to be true. Heyli had been sent nearly 1,200 miles away to a shelter for migrant children in Phoenix operated by the nonprofit Southwest Key. Carlos, meanwhile, was shackled and sent to a migrant-detention center run by the Management and Training Corp. in Livingston, Texas.

For weeks, Carlos and Heyli remained separated, only vaguely aware of the other's location. Both were inconsolable. And back home in Honduras, Claudia was frantic. In phone calls from the Arizona shelter, Heyli sobbed and begged her mother to come get her. "I never imagined this would happen, Mami," Heyli told Claudia. "If I had known this would happen, I wouldn't have come." Sometimes Heyli would dream that she was back in Honduras with her parents, her mother said, only to wake up in a panic when she realized she was still at the shelter. Meanwhile, several of her bunkmates left for reunions with their own families, prompting Heyli to ask her mom: Why them but not her?

The calls left Claudia desperate and heartbroken. "If I had known that my daughter was going to suffer like this, never in my life would have I have let her leave. Never," Claudia said in an interview last July. "I regret it 1,000 times over." Carlos, too, said he would have picked a better moment to leave.

The Trump Administration's policy of incarcer-

ating asylum seekers and separating families may have deterred or delayed some migrants last summer. But the temporary lull in new crossings didn't last. The forces driving families like Carlos' north—violence, poverty, hunger, persecution—have persisted, and traffickers have capitalized on the growing demand. While the total number of those apprehended crossing the border illegally has dropped from 1.6 million in 2000 to fewer than 400,000 in 2018, according to federal data, the number of family units attempting the passage has skyrocketed. "We're currently experiencing an unprecedented influx of family units at our southwest border," Border Patrol chief Carla Provost told Congress in late February.

For their part, traffickers on the U.S. side of the border are drawn to the market not only for the profits but also because they face more lenient penalties for smuggling humans than they do for smuggling narcotics. Emilio Trejo Jr., who spent nearly 12 years in federal prison for trafficking cocaine in 2004, is now serving just 30 months for transporting undocumented migrants. He was caught in late 2017 at a Border Patrol checkpoint

▼
Heyli and Carlos play together at a park near their temporary home in Southern California



with 25 people hiding between boxes of produce in the back of his refrigerated tractor trailer. The going rate for hauling migrants on the U.S. side: \$2,000 a head, Trejo told TIME from the Coastal Bend detention center outside Corpus Christi, Texas. In fiscal year 2018, the number of migrants caught in the back of tractor trailers in the busy Rio Grande Valley Sector rose 39%. “Right now,” Trejo says, “the money’s in the people.”

CARLOS AND HEYLI were separated for nearly two months. In late June, their case generated national attention when Carlos told the *Texas Tribune* that Immigration and Customs Enforcement agents had promised to reunite them if he agreed to voluntary deportation. Desperate, Carlos signed the papers. But national politics soon overtook the deal.

On June 26, a federal judge in California ordered the Trump Administration to reunite most separated migrant families within 30 days. A few days before the deadline, Heyli was moved from Arizona to Port Isabel, Texas, and on the evening of July 23, Carlos was led out of his cell and into an adjacent building. There, among a sea of migrant kids, he found his daughter waiting for him. “It was the best moment of my life,” he says. They hugged and cried together. “I don’t ever want this to happen

again,” Heyli told her dad. Carlos looked into her eyes. “I told her that it would not,” he says. “That I would always be with her and that I was going to take care of her.”

For the past six months, Heyli was enrolled in first grade in a Los Angeles suburb, where she was living with her dad, her Aunt Lilian and two cousins. But the scars of their separation were still evident. For weeks after she was released from the shelter, Heyli would break down in tears or hide in the

‘Right now, the money’s in the people.’

—EMILIO TREJO JR., A CONVICTED MIGRANT SMUGGLER

corner anytime her dad would leave for work. She still won’t talk about her time in the shelter.

Carlos is also anxious. There’s still a lot of uncertainty about Carlos and Heyli’s legal status, said Derek Loh, Carlos’ lawyer. Both could be deported, both could be granted asylum, or they could face a split decision—removal for Carlos and asylum for Heyli, he said. It’s also unclear how Carlos’ family will pay off the \$3,000 they owe the coyote and the \$2,000 they owe the loan shark, while still affording medicine and food. The family is currently paying roughly \$80 a month toward interest on the loan, but if they don’t pay it off by May, they will lose the house. Meanwhile, Claudia worries that Carlos will be ordered deported before he can pay everything off. With debts looming, Carlos and Heyli recently moved to Florida in search of more steady work.

Despite the heartache it caused, both Claudia and Carlos say they believe their decision was the right one. “In a way I do think the coyote lied, because if I had known [about the separation policy] I would have waited a little bit longer to come” with Heyli, Carlos says. “But thank God we are already here, and now we have to forget about the past and start a new life.”

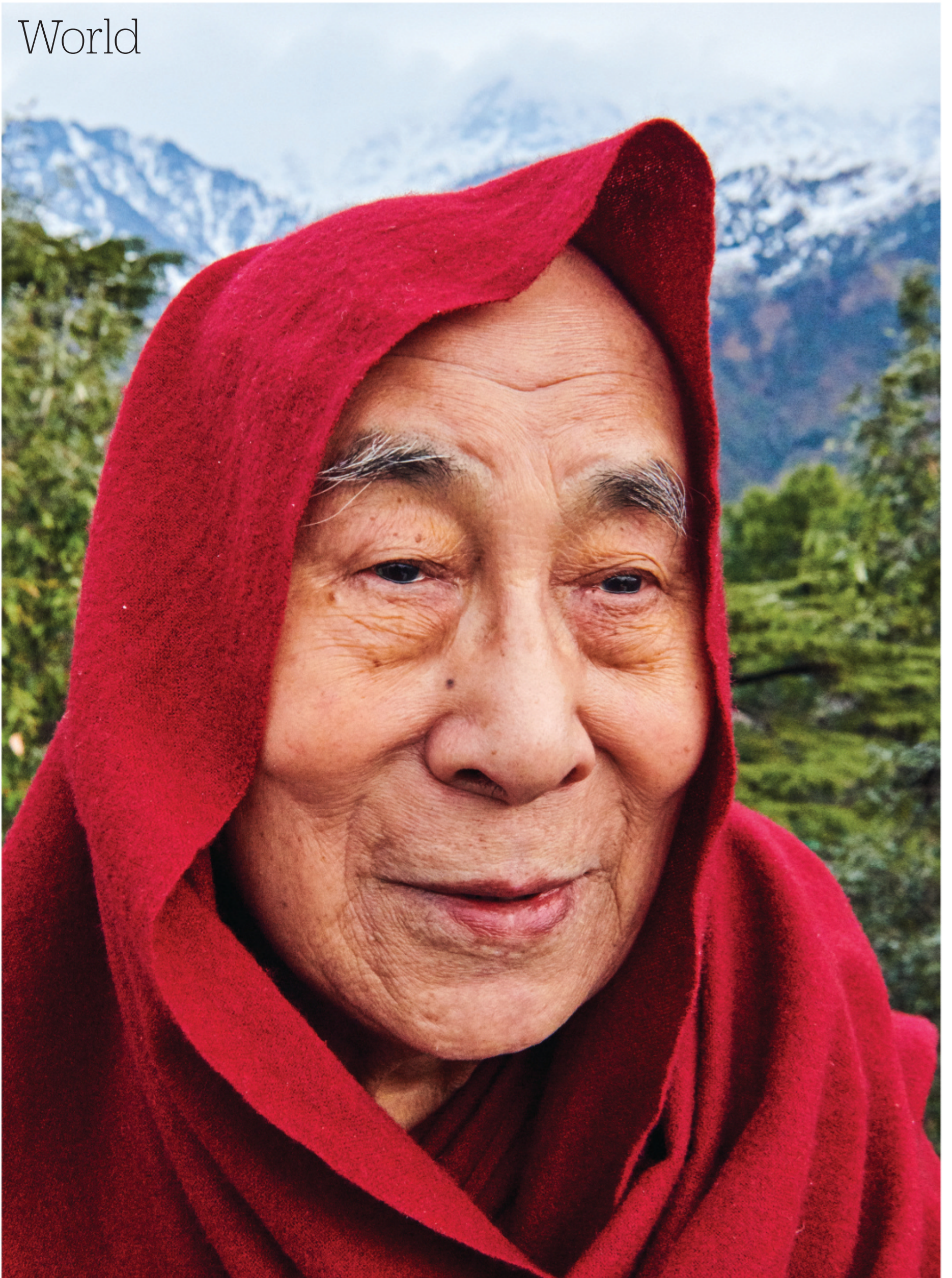
They might soon have company. Carlos’ brother Juan, 27, says nothing that happened to Carlos and Heyli will deter him. When the time is right, he too will pay a smuggler and head for the border.

“Donald Trump’s policies don’t affect the coyote,” Juan says. “As the crisis continues in Honduras—hunger, unemployment and crime—people are going to continue to leave. Immigration will never stop. That is how I see it.” —*With reporting by SHANNON NAJMABADI/AUSTIN*

This story is part of a collaboration between TIME and the Texas Tribune to track the family-separation crisis at the U.S.-Mexico border. To watch a documentary about Carlos and Heyli’s journey through the migrant-smuggling industry, go to time.com/borderhustle



World



TEST OF FAITH

Sixty years in exile made the Dalai Lama
the world's most famous Buddhist.
But China wants to name his successor

BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL/DHARAMSALA, INDIA

PHOTOGRAPHS BY RUVEN AFANADOR FOR TIME

MORNING HAS BROKEN ON THE CEDAR-strewn foothills of the Himalayas. His Holiness the 14th Dalai Lama sits in meditation in his private chapel in Dharamsala, a ramshackle town perched on the upper reaches of North India's Kangra Valley. Rousing slowly, he unfolds his legs with remarkable agility for a man of 83, finds the red felt slippers placed neatly beneath his seat and heads outside to where a crowd has already gathered.

Around 300 people brave the February chill to offer white *khata* scarves and receive the Dalai Lama's blessing. There's a group from Bhutan in traditional checkered dress. A man from Thailand has brought his Liverpool F.C. scarf, seeking divine benediction for the U.K. soccer team's title bid. Two women lose all

control as they approach the Dalai Lama's throne and are carried away shaking in rapture, clutching prayer beads and muttering incantations.

The Dalai Lama engages each visitor like a big kid: slapping bald pates, grabbing onto one devotee's single braid, waggling another's nose. Every conversation is peppered with giggles and guffaws. "We 7 billion human beings—emotionally, mentally, physically—are the same," he tells TIME in a 90-minute interview. "Everyone wants a joyful life."

His own has reached a critical point. The Dalai Lama is considered a living Buddha of compassion, a reincarnation of the bodhisattva Chenrezig, who renounced Nirvana in order to help mankind. The title originally only sig-

*At 83, the
Buddhist leader
reflects on a life
spent away from
his native Tibet*

nified the preeminent Buddhist monk in Tibet, a remote land about twice the size of Texas that sits veiled behind the Himalayas. But starting in the 17th century, the Dalai Lama also wielded full political authority over the secretive kingdom. That changed with Mao Zedong's conquest of Tibet, which brought the rule of the current Dalai Lama to an end. On March 17, 1959, he was forced to escape to India.

In the six decades since, the leader of the world's most secluded people has become the most recognizable face of a religion practiced by nearly 500 million people worldwide. But his prominence extends beyond the borders of his own faith, with many practices endorsed by Buddhists, like mindfulness and meditation, permeating the lives of millions more around the world. What's more, the lowly farmer's son named as a "God-King" in his childhood has been embraced by the West since his exile. He won the Nobel Peace Prize in 1989 and was heralded in Martin Scorsese's 1997 biopic. The cause of Tibetan self-rule remains alive in Western minds thanks to admirers ranging from Richard Gere to the Beastie Boys to Democratic House Speaker Nancy Pelosi, who calls him a "messenger of hope for millions of people around the world."

Yet as old age makes travel more difficult, and as China's political clout has grown, the Dalai Lama's influence has waned. Today the Chinese Communist Party (CCP) that drove him out of Tibet is working to co-opt Buddhist principles—as well as the succession process itself. Officially atheist, the party has proved as adaptive to religion as it is to capitalism, claiming a home for faith in the nationalism Beijing has activated under Xi Jinping. In January, the CCP announced it would "Sinicize" Buddhism over the next five years, completing a multimillion-dollar rebranding of the faith as an ancient Chinese religion.

From Pakistan to Myanmar, Chinese money has rejuvenated ancient Buddhist sites and promoted Buddhist studies. Beijing has spent \$3 billion transforming the Nepalese town of Lumbini, birthplace of Lord Buddha, into a luxury pilgrimage site, boasting an airport, hotels, convention center, temples and a university. China has hosted World Buddhist Forums

since 2006, inviting monks from all over the world.

Although not, of course, the world's most famous. Beijing still sees the Dalai Lama as a dangerous threat and swiftly rebukes any nation that entertains him. That appears to be working too. Once the toast of capitals around the world, the Dalai Lama has not met a world leader since 2016. Even India, which has granted asylum to him as well as to about 100,000 other Tibetans, is not sending senior representatives to the diaspora's commemoration of his 60th year in exile, citing a "very sensitive time" for bilateral relations with Beijing. Every U.S. President since George H.W. Bush has made a point of meeting the Dalai Lama until Donald Trump, who is in negotiations with China over reforming its state-controlled economy.

Still, the Dalai Lama holds out hope for a return to his birthplace. Despite his renown and celebrity friends, he remains a man aching for home and a leader removed from his people. Having retired from "political responsibility" within the exiled community in 2011, he merely wants "the opportunity to visit some holy places in China for pilgrimage," he tells *TIME*. "I sincerely just want to serve Chinese Buddhists."

Despite that, the CCP still regards the Dalai Lama as a "wolf in monk's robes" and a dangerous "splittist," as Chinese officials call him. He has rejected calls for Tibetan independence since 1974—acknowledging the geopolitical reality that any settlement must keep Tibet within the People's Republic of China. He instead advocates for greater autonomy and religious and cultural freedom for his people. It matters little.

"It's hard to believe a return would happen at this point," says Gray Tuttle, a professor of modern Tibetan studies at Columbia. "China holds all the cards."

THE BOY BORN Lhamo Thondup was identified as the 14th incarnation of the Dalai Lama at just 2 years old, when a retinue of top lamas, or senior Buddhist Tibetan monks, followed a series of oracles and prophecies to his village in northeastern Tibet. The precocious toddler seemed to recognize objects belonging to the 13th Dalai Lama, prompting the lamas to proclaim him the celestial heir. At age



4, he was carried on a golden palanquin into the Tibetan capital, Lhasa, and ensconced in its resplendent Potala Palace. A daily routine of spiritual teaching by top religious scholars followed.

"Sometimes my tutor kept a whip to threaten me," the Dalai Lama recalls, smiling. "The whip was yellow in color, as it was for a holy person, the Dalai Lama. But I knew that if the whip was used, it made no difference—holy pain!"

It was a lonely childhood. The Dalai Lama rarely saw his parents and had no contact with peers of his own age, save his elder brother Lobsang Samden, who served as head of household. Despite his tutors' focus on spiritual matters, or perhaps because of it, he was fascinated by science and technology. He would gaze from the Potala's roof at Lhasa street life through a telescope. He took apart and reassembled a projector and camera to see how they functioned. "He continually astonished me by his powers of compre-



The Dalai Lama delivers a lecture from his throne on Feb. 18 to mark Losar, the Tibetan new year

hension, his pertinacity and his industry,” wrote the Austrian mountaineer Heinrich Harrer, who became the Dalai Lama’s tutor and was one of six Europeans permitted to live in Lhasa at the time. Today the Dalai Lama proudly describes himself as “half Buddhist monk, half scientist.”

The Dalai Lama was only supposed to assume a political role on his 18th birthday, with a regent ruling until then. But the arrival of Mao’s troops to reclaim dominion over Tibet in 1950 caused the Tibetan government to give him full authority at just 15. With no political experience or knowledge of the outside world, he was thrust into negotiations with an invading army while trying to calm his fervent but poorly armed subjects.

Conditions worsened over the next nine years of occupation. Chinese procla-

mations calling Lord Buddha a “reactionary” enraged a pious populace of 2.7 million. By March 1959, rumors spread that the Dalai Lama would be abducted or assassinated, fomenting a doomed popular uprising that looked likely to spill into serious bloodshed. “Just in front of the Potala [Palace], on the other side of the river, there was a Chinese artillery division,” the Dalai Lama recalls. “Previously all the guns were covered, but around the 15th or 16th, all the covers were removed. So then we knew it was very serious. On the 17th morning, I decided to escape.”

The two-week journey to India was fraught, as Chinese troops hunted the party across some of the world’s most unforgiving terrain. The Dalai Lama reached India incognito atop a dzo, a cross between a yak and a cow. Every building in which he slept en route was immediately consecrated as a chapel, but the land he left behind was ravaged by Mao’s disastrous Great Leap Forward and Cultural

Revolution. Hundreds of thousands died. By some reckonings, 99.9% of the country’s 6,400 monasteries were destroyed.

Tibet’s desire to remain isolated and undisturbed had served it poorly. The kingdom had no useful allies, the government of Lhasa having declined to establish official diplomatic relations with any other nation or join international organizations. The Dalai Lama’s supplications were thus easy to ignore. Tibet had remained staunchly neutral during World War II, and the U.S. was already mired in a fresh conflict on the Korean Peninsula.

“[First Indian Prime Minister] Pandit Nehru told me, ‘America will not fight the Chinese communists in order to liberate Tibet, so sooner or later you have to talk with the Chinese government,’” the Dalai Lama recalls.

WHEN TIBETANS FIRST followed the Dalai Lama into India, they lived with bags packed and did not build proper houses, believing a glorious return would come at a moment’s notice. It never did.

Four decades of conversations between China and exiled Tibetan leadership have led nowhere. Consolatory talks began in the 1970s between the Dalai Lama’s envoys and reformist Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping and continued under Deng’s successor, Jiang Zemin. The talks stipulated that Tibetan independence was off the table, but even so, the drawn-out process was suspended in 1994 and after briefly resuming in the 2000s is again at a standstill.

Meanwhile, Tibet remains firmly under the thumb of Beijing. The U.N. High Commissioner for Human Rights has lamented that conditions are “fast deteriorating” in the region. In May, Tibetan businessman Tashi Wangchuk was jailed for five years merely for promoting the Tibetan language. In December, the government issued a directive to stop Tibetan language and culture from being taught in monasteries. Once known as the “abode of the gods,” Lhasa has become a warren of neon and concrete like any other Chinese city. Although the U.S. officially recognizes Tibet as part of China, Vice President Mike Pence said in July that the Tibetan people “have been brutally repressed by the Chinese government.”

Many allege their cultural and religious freedom is under attack by the





*The Dalai Lama
meditates in
his private
chapel inside
his residence
on Feb. 18*

Beijing government. Some in Tibet resort to extreme measures to protest their treatment. Since 2009, more than 150 Tibetans—monks, nuns and ordinary civilians—have set themselves ablaze in protest. Often self-immolators exalt the Dalai Lama with their final breaths. Despite his message of nonviolence, the Dalai Lama has been criticized for refusing to condemn the practice. “It’s a very difficult situation,” he says. “If I criticize [self-immolators], then their family members may feel very sad.” He adds, however, that their sacrifice has “no effect and creates more problems.”

Beijing vehemently refutes accusations of human-rights violations in Tibet, insisting that it fully respects the religious and cultural rights of the Tibetan people, and highlights how development has raised living standards in the previously isolated and impoverished land. China has spent more than \$450 million renovating Tibet’s major monasteries and religious sites since the 1980s, according to official figures, with \$290 million more budgeted through 2023. The world’s No. 2 economy has also greenlighted massive infrastructure projects worth \$97 billion, with new airports and highways carving through the world’s highest mountains, nominally to boost the prosperity of the 6 million ethnic Tibetans.

This level of investment presents a dilemma to Tibetans stranded in exile. The majority live in India, under a special “guest” arrangement by which they can work and receive an education but, crucially, not buy property. Many toil as roadside laborers or make trinkets to sell to tourists. And so large numbers of young Tibetans are making the choice to return, lured to a homeland they have never known. “If you want a safe and secure future for your children, then either you go back to Tibet or some other country where you can get citizenship,” says Dorji Kyi, director of the Lha NGO in Dharamsala, which supports Tibetan exiles.

Many of the returnees are armed with better education and world experience than their peers who grew up in Tibet. “Some of them do well,” says Thupten Dorjee, president of Tibetan Children’s Village, a network of five orphanages and eight schools that has cared for 52,000 young Tibetans in India. “But if they get

involved in political things then they land into trouble.”

Tibet still has a government-in-exile, the Central Tibetan Administration (CTA) in Dharamsala, but it is dogged by infighting and scandal. Exiles are instead forging their own path. Last September, the Dalai Lama himself was filmed at his temple telling young Tibetans that it was better to live under Beijing’s rule than stay as “beggars” in exile. Speaking to *TIME*, he said it was “no problem” if exiled Tibetans chose to return to China.

Even those who have achieved prosperity elsewhere are opting to return. Songtsen Gyalzur, 45, sold his real estate business in Switzerland, where his Tibet-born parents immigrated after first fleeing to India, to start China’s Shangri-La Highland Craft Brewery in 2014. Today his award-winning brewery has an annual capacity of 2.6 million gallons of lagers, ales and porters. He recruits 80% of the staff from orphanages his mother set up in Tibetan areas in the 1990s. “Tibet has so many well-educated, well-trained professionals abroad who could have a real impact on people’s lives here,” he says.

Despite the “Lost Horizon” legend, the kingdom was never a spiritual and agrarian utopia. Most residents lived a Hobbesian existence. Nobles were strictly ranked in seven classes, with only the Dalai Lama belonging to the first. Few commoners had any sort of education. Modern medicine was forbidden, especially surgery, meaning even minor ailments were fatal. The sick were typically treated with a gruel of barley meal, butter and the urine of a holy monk. Life expectancy was 36 years. Criminals had limbs amputated and cauterized in boiling butter. Even the wheel wasn’t commonly employed, given the dearth of passable roads.

The Dalai Lama has admitted that Tibet was “very, very backward” and insists he would have enacted reforms. But he also emphasizes that traditional Tibetan life was more in communion with nature than the present. Tibet hosts the largest store of fresh water outside the Arctic and Antarctic, leading some environmentalists to term its frozen plateau the “third pole,” and especially vulnerable to the choking development unleashed by the Beijing government.

“Global warming does not make any sort of exception—just this continent or

that continent, or this nation or that nation,” the Dalai Lama says. Asked who is responsible for fixing the crisis, he points not to Beijing but to Washington. “America, as a leading nation of the free world, should take more serious consideration about global issues.”

THE DALAI LAMA is a refreshingly unabashed figure in person. His frequent laughter and protuberant ears make him seem cuddly and inoffensive, and it’s difficult to overstate how tactile he is. He appears equally at home with both the physical and the spiritual, tradition and modernity. He meditated within reach of an iPad tuned to an image of a babbling brook and mountains and a few minutes later turned to Tibetan scriptures written on wide, single sheets, unbound. He retires at 6 p.m. and rises at 4 a.m. and spends the first hours of his day in meditation.

“Western civilization, including America, is very much oriented toward materialistic life,” he says. “But that culture generates too much stress, anxiety and jealousy, all these things. So my No. 1 commitment is to try to promote awareness of our inner values.” From kindergarten onward, he says, children should be taught about “taking care of emotion.”

“Whether religious or not, as a human being we should learn more about our system of emotion so that we can tackle destructive emotion, in order to become more calm, have more inner peace.”

The Dalai Lama said his second commitment is to religious harmony. Conflicts in the Middle East tend to involve sectarian strife within Islam. “Iran is mainly Shi’ite. Saudi Arabia, plus their money, is Sunni. So this is a problem,” he says, lamenting “too much narrow-mindedness” and urging people of all faiths to “broaden” their thinking.

Buddhism has its own extremists. The themes of Buddhism, as a nontheistic religion with no single creator deity, are more accessible to followers of other faiths and even ardent atheists, emphasizing harmony and mental cleanliness. But the Dalai Lama says he is “very sad” about the situation in Myanmar, where firebrand Buddhist monks have incited the genocide of Rohingya Muslims. “All religions have within them a tradition of human loving kindness,” he says, “but



instead are causing violence, division.”

He keeps a sharp eye on global affairs and is happy to weigh in. Trump’s “America first” foreign policy and obsession with a wall on the southern U.S. border make him feel “uncomfortable,” he says, calling Mexico “a good neighbor” of the U.S. Britain’s impending exit from the European Union also warrants a rebuke, as he has “always admired” the E.U.

In his ninth decade and moving with the help of assistants, the Dalai Lama continues to explore human consciousness and question long-held shibboleths. During a series of lectures in February to mark the Tibetan new year, he pontificates on everything from artificial intelligence—it can never compete with the human mind, he says—to blind deference to religious dogma. “Buddha himself told us, ‘Do not believe my teaching on faith, but rather through thorough investigation and experiment,’” he says. “So if some teaching goes against reason, we should not accept it.”

This includes the institution of the Dalai Lama itself. Even as a young boy, his scientific mind led him to question the idea that he was the 14th incarnation of a deity king. His former tutor recalled that

Buddhist monks line up to hear the Dalai Lama deliver lectures at Tsuglagkhang temple to mark the Tibetan new year

he found it odd that the prior Dalai Lama “was so fond of horses and that they mean so little to me.” Today the Dalai Lama says the institution he embodies appears “feudal” in nature. Leaving the spiritual element aside, he says he doesn’t believe any political authority should be conferred when he dies. “On one occasion the Dalai Lama institution started,” he says. “That means there must be one occasion when the institution is no longer relevant. Stop. No problem. This is not my concern. China’s communists, I think, are showing more concern.”

Indeed they are. In a blow to the Tibetan exile community, China has set about bringing the leadership of Tibetan Buddhism into the party fold. When the Dalai Lama named a Tibetan child as the reincarnation of the previous Panchen Lama in 1995—the second highest position in Tibetan Buddhism after himself—China put the boy into “protective custody” and installed a more pliant figure instead. The whereabouts of the Dalai Lama’s choice remain unknown.

So when the Dalai Lama leaves this plane of existence, it’s highly likely a 15th incarnation will be chosen by the godless CCP. “It’s pretty obvious the Chinese state is preparing for it, which is absurd,” Tuttle says. Tibetan Buddhists will be forced to choose between the party’s Dalai Lama and the selection of Tibetan exiles. On this point, at least, the incumbent is very clear. Any decision on the next Dalai Lama, he says, should be “up to the Tibetan people.”

No doubt the party’s desire to name a Dalai Lama stems from the fact that there are 244 million Buddhists in China—a cohort that dwarfs the CCP membership by 3 to 1. The party craves legitimizing its power above all else and believes yoking it to the institution of the Dalai Lama will provide that. But Beijing clearly also hopes it will be a symbolic final nail in the coffin of Tibetan self-rule, completing the absorption of Tibet into the People’s Republic of China that began seven decades ago.

So in a twist of irony, it seems the incumbent God-King’s wish will eventually be granted. One day a Dalai Lama will return to China—in this body or the next, with his blessing or without. □



*Six decades on,
the Dalai Lama
still hopes he
will visit his
birthplace again*







MOVE OVER, SOCCER

High school shooting teams are growing, thanks in part to the NRA

By Sean Gregory/
Alexandria, Minn.

Photographs by
Sarah Blesener for TIME

< Members of the Richfield High School/Academy of Holy Angels trap team at the Minnesota championships in Alexandria

Pop. Pop. Pop. At the Minnesota high school trap-shooting championship, more than 8,000 students from some 300 schools gathered in June to blast flying orange discs out of the sky. Over nine days, the sound of bullets firing—hour after hour after hour—becomes ambient noise, like a supermarket soundtrack. Pop. Pop. Pop.

RVs filled the parking lot. Sponsor tents (the U.S. Army, Friends of NRA, a guy selling Donald Trump T-shirts) lined the Alexandria Shooting Park, a grassy stretch in a lake-dotted region around two hours northwest of Minneapolis. Kids in their team uniforms formed a rainbow of red, orange, green, maroon, all shades of blue. Their shirts bore the names of their scholastic trap-shooting squads and the local outfits that support them. For Crosslake Community School, the list includes a local bank, an insurance broker, the American Legion and Grandpa's General Store.

The Minnesota State High School Clay Target League championship bills itself as the largest shooting sports event in the world. With the bustling crowds and flood of corporate interest, it could be mistaken for, say, a scene on the NASCAR circuit, except that the stars are teenage boys and girls. And they're armed. That's the entire point, of course, in a shooting competition, but there are moments when the world beyond scorecards and ear protection edges into view. Bernie Bogenreif, coach for the Roseville Area High School trap team, detects one such instance as competitors from another school line up for a team photo: a couple of dozen kids arranged, shoulder to shoulder, guns in hand.

"Bet that one isn't going in the yearbook," Bogenreif quips.

Then again, it might. In much of the country, the words *guns* and *schools* do tend to go together more often in horrific headlines than under a senior portrait, wedged between CLASS TREASURER and SPRING TRACK. But more and more yearbooks are marking competitive shooting as a part of high school life. Even as mass shootings have inspired protests and walkouts in many schools, a growing number—sometimes the same schools—are

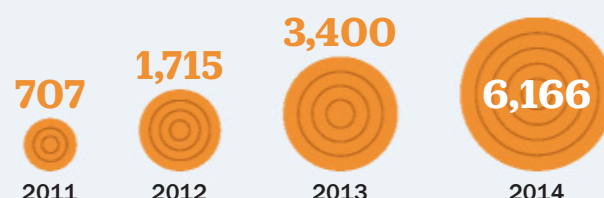


Growth sport

The USA High School Clay Target League has 800 teams across 20 states. Participation is highest in Minnesota, where the sport is on par with tennis and swimming.

SOURCES: USA HIGH SCHOOL CLAY TARGET LEAGUE; MINNESOTA STATE HIGH SCHOOL LEAGUE

ATHLETES IN THE USA HIGH SCHOOL CLAY TARGET LEAGUE



sanctioning shooting squads as an extracurricular activity. In 2015, for example, 9,245 students, in 317 schools across three states, participated in the USA High School Clay Target League. Since then, participation has spiked 137%: in 2018, 21,917 students, from 804 teams in 20 states—including New York and California, as well as Texas—competed.

The uptick reflects at least two complex and relentlessly challenging realities—guns in America and adolescence. On one level, high school shoot-



<
*High school students
take their 100 shots
at clay targets,
or “pigeons,” at the
Minnesota event*

political powerhouse that frames firearm ownership with a defiant cultural conservatism. There’s a reason Barry Thompson, a service engineer for medical equipment who has a lifetime NRA membership, helps coach the East Ridge High School team. “I’m upfront with the parents,” says Thompson, 59. “I am out here with an ulterior motive. These kids will be voting.”

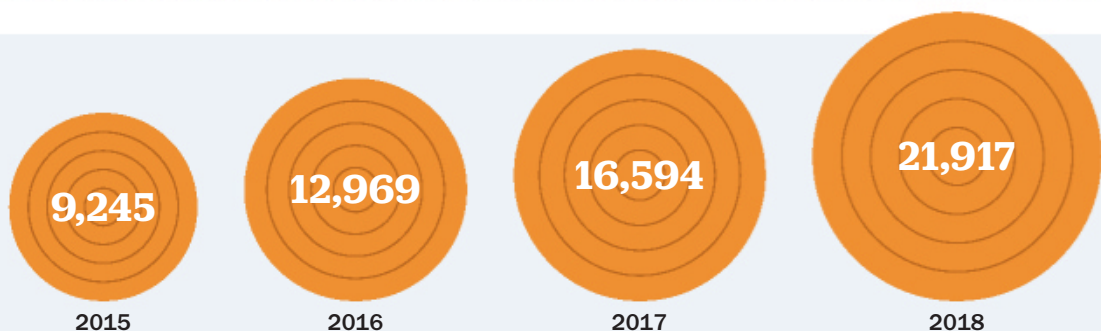
Gun critics see the issue the same way. “Anything the NRA is for I’d say might not be beneficial for society,” says Linda Rosenthal, a Democratic state assembly member from New York City. “It’s beneficial for NRA influence and the propagation of gun use.” Rosenthal has proposed legislation banning public-school teams in her state, which are becoming more popular: in 2018 alone, participation in the New York State High School Clay Target League tripled, to 1,149 students and 59 schools. The lawmaker notes that Nikolas Cruz, charged with killing 17 students and staff members at Marjory Stoneman Douglas High School in Parkland, Fla., was a member of his high school rifle team.

“If parents are interested in their children learning about marksmanship, they have every right to send their kids to such a program,” says Rosenthal. “However, schools are places of learning. They are not places to learn how to become tomorrow’s mass shooter.”

NO SCIENTIFIC RESEARCH, however, shows that joining a shooting team makes you more likely to do harm with a gun. And there is no shortage of anecdotal evidence, at least among shooting teams, that describes such structured activities as an antidote to the afflictions often attributed to students who have carried out school massacres, including alienation and social isolation.

Sydney Gilbertson joined Waconia High School’s trap team when she was just 13. Her older brother was a shooter, but she was the only girl on the squad. “It took me out of my bubble,” says Gilbertson, 19, now a freshman at the University of Minnesota. “I owe my confidence to trap. It’s the best thing I did in high school. If this were taken away from kids ... I don’t know what I would have done.” Her eyes nearly fill with tears. “I’m attached to it.”

For about a third of USA High School Clay Target League participants, trap shooting is their sole sport. “Whether you’re out in the country or close to the city, there is just a whole group of kids that



ing teams weave themselves into the national debate over firearms. The NRA has funded these programs. From 2014 to 2016, the latest three years for which the NRA Foundation’s tax returns are publicly available, the organization provided more than \$4 million in cash and equipment grants to schools and organizations that support scholastic sports shooting. The support dovetails with the group’s original emphasis on gun safety and training. But it also aligns with the NRA’s transformation into a

Nation

need something to be part of,” says John Hanselman, the head coach at Spring Lake Park High School in Minnesota.

It’s an individual sport, like wrestling, that also offers the bonding and interdependence of a team. There are no cheerleaders, though, and the gear—protective glasses, earmuffs, baggy vests with huge pockets—keeps the emphasis resolutely on performance. Hand-eye coordination and focus matter more than physical conditioning. Stars can emerge from anywhere.

“You can take the biggest jock in high school—he can go out for high school trap and he can do good,” says LeRoy Van Brunt, committee chairman of the South Metro chapter of the Friends of NRA in Minnesota. “But you can take—and this isn’t politically correct—the biggest computer nerd in school, or any of the girls, and they can beat that guy. And they do.”

In trap shooting, a machine known as the trap launches a clay target, or “pigeon,” into the air. Each competitor takes a hundred shots at the pigeons. Logan Gile of tiny Lakeview High School had torn his ACL, which ended his football career. He’d also torn his meniscus, which kept him off the basketball court. But the senior still found athletic perfection. At the state championship he hit all 100 of his targets, setting off a tearful celebration with his parents.

Meanwhile, Taylor Laumann, a senior at Watertown-Mayer High School who uses a wheelchair because of a spina bifida condition, fires away alongside her teammates. Thanks to trap, Laumann has earned a varsity letter. “When you have a child with special needs, some of those things you don’t really think are going to happen,” says Susanne Derner, Laumann’s mother. “She’s like the other kids, doing sports in school.”

Minnesota is a hunting state; more than a third of adults own a firearm, and in rural areas, school attendance might dip significantly during the first days of deer season. But if not for the persistence of a former Minnesota adman, thousands of students would not have gotten involved in shooting for school teams. Jim Sable, now 80, retired in 2000 after selling his advertising agency. So he started spending more time at his local gun club. He knew the club was graying when someone asked him to unload targets from a semitruck, because he was one of the younger members.

To attract the youth demo to shooting sports, Sable proposed that schools form teams. At first, the sell proved difficult. In one of Sable’s first meetings with an education board, he learned a key lesson, he says. Never use the words *kids*, *guns* and *schools* in one sentence unless you want a predictable response: Are you crazy?

Sable, an avuncular pitchman who founded the

Tri-City United High School trap-team members stand for the national anthem; below, a shooter exercises with recruiters from the Army, a sponsor of the Minnesota championship



Among some of the kids, the future voters some NRA members see on the firing line, opinions are clear and in some cases unsettling

USA High School Clay Target League and just retired as its president, refined his argument. He asked administrators to pretend, for a second, that he didn’t represent a shooting sports organization. Imagine instead that he was asking them to start an activity that causes concussions, broken collarbones and fractured legs. No way, right? He then reminds them he’s describing football.

In terms of optics, it helps that teams do not shoot on school property. They practice and compete at shooting ranges, and can’t bring firearms to school. It also helps that the clubs and other sponsors help support the squads, so shooting teams almost never



tax a school's budget. It's also a rare sport in which boys and girls compete together—increasingly so. Around 18% of participants in the U.S. high school league are female, up from 4% five years ago.

As for safety: more than 70,000 students have fired 42 million shots since 2008. No one has reported a single injury, according to the league. At Spring Lake Park, coach Hanselman tells students to consume no sugar within an hour before a shoot, lest hyperactive teens grow even more jittery on the firing line. At every school in the league, students are required to earn a firearm-safety certificate to participate on the team. "We always enforce that every time you pull that trigger," says Josh Kern, assistant coach for Badger-Greenbush-Middle River High School, which sits some 20 miles from the Canadian border in northern Minnesota, "you can never take that shot back."

THE POLITICS OF GUNS are always present, though with experience, new perspectives can emerge.

▲
Sydney Gilbertson, a recent graduate of Waconia (Minn.) High School, after competing at the trap event. She credits the school shooting team with helping her build confidence

Van Brunt, the Friends of NRA honcho, mentions a mother he met at a county fair two years ago; she told him that before her son started shooting for his school's trap team, she was almost purely anti-gun. One of the coaches, Van Brunt says, shared similar conversion tales with him.

For some kids, their support for trap shooting is bound up with broader political currents. One boy at the Minnesota event wore a KEEP AMERICA AMERICAN hat; another sported a REDNECK NATION shirt with a Confederate flag. Yet another, Tommy Schroeder—who received a lifetime NRA membership for his 10th birthday—salutes Trump for his support for gun rights and his crackdown on illegal immigration. "We have a dream too," says Schroeder, a sophomore at Mora High School, about 60 miles north of Minneapolis. "We don't want them to ruin other lives."

When, after the Parkland massacre, school walkouts were organized to press for tighter gun-control laws, most of the trap shooters chose not to participate. "The message got swamped," says Megan Ringate, a recent graduate of Wayzata High School in Plymouth, a Twin Cities suburb. A member of the shooting team, Ringate sat out the protest. "It wasn't about 'We need to protect the kids,'" she says. "It was, 'We're anti-Trump.'"

Another student, Logan Kluever, joined the walkout at his school, Worthington High School in the prairie flats of southeastern Minnesota. But he came to regret his decision. "I thought it was going to be a memorial for those who lost their lives," says Kluever, 17. "I got out there, and everyone was talking about trying to get guns banned. I'd never support taking away one of my favorite things that's passed down for generations." He inherited a Remington 870 Wingmaster that his father bought when he was a teen.

Trap shooters know that not everyone has the same perspective, even in the hallways of their schools. Fellow students, they say, sometimes view them with suspicion. Ringate has noticed it in suburban Plymouth. "Some people think that since I'm on the shooting team, I may shoot up the school or the town," she says. "They see me wearing my apparel, and you get a, like, *whoa*."

Rylee Rose, an eighth-grader who shoots a 20-gauge Remington shotgun for Spring Lake Park, just north of Minneapolis, says others grow somewhat "nervous" around her. How can she tell? "If I have my teamwear and stuff and it says trap and skeet, some people question what it is," says Rose. "And when I tell them, they're like, O.K., and then they kind of walk away."

Her reaction? "I just kind of shrug and just keep walking," she says. Back to the trap. She's more concerned with her score. □

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Time Off

**O CAPTAIN,
MY CAPTAIN**
Brie Larson
contends with
animatronic cats,
venomous snakes
and deadly heat
on the set of
Captain Marvel



INSIDE

THE HUNT FOR PURPOSE
AND SEX IN GREGG ARAKI'S
NOW APOCALYPSE

JULIANNE MOORE ILLUMINATES
THE REMAKE OF A BELOVED
CHILEAN FILM

A BROOKLYN MUSEUM
EXHIBITION PUTS A NEW SPIN ON
FRIDA KAHLO

MOVIES

Marvel not at the superhero's gender

By Eliana Dockterman

YOU REALLY NEED TO KNOW ABOUT THE CAT?" Brie Larson asks. The cat in question, whose name is Goose, a nod to Tom Cruise's sidekick in *Top Gun*, is the constant companion of Larson's superhero, Captain Marvel, in the upcoming film of the same name. And the thing is, I do need to ask about the cat, because even though it's animatronic, it's just so *real*, with soft fur, beady eyes and whiskers that are a little worse for the wear. The robotic cat is actually the understudy to four real cats on set, since you can teach each cat only one trick. There's Reggie, for closeups; Archie, for cuddly shots; Gonzo, who will walk up to your leg and nuzzle it; and Rizzo, the cat who claws at your face. (Rizzo was, perhaps unsurprisingly, the least popular feline on set.)

We're on the set of the 21st Marvel Studios movie—the last one before *Avengers: Endgame* blows up the entire franchise. It's June and 94°F in this sugarcane field two hours outside of New Orleans. There's no air-conditioning inside the bungalow where the actors are shooting their scenes, so in between takes they take refuge in SUVs left running with the AC blasting parked beneath the shade of a willow tree. Earlier in the afternoon, the producers had to shoo away a venomous snake from set. So fine, I won't keep asking about the cat, though I feel vindicated six months later when I see Goose has gotten his own movie poster. Some fans are even theorizing that the cat will save the universe when *Endgame* hits theaters a few weeks after *Captain Marvel*.

The last *Avengers* movie, *Avengers: Infinity War*, ended with a giant purple antagonist named Thanos harnessing the power of something called the Infinity Gauntlet to make his supervillain dream a reality. With a snap of his fingers, he makes half of humanity—and half of the *Avengers* cast—disintegrate, but not before Samuel L. Jackson's Agent Nick Fury whips out a '90s-style pager and sends a message to Captain Marvel. She's arriving just in time—both for the heroes and for the Marvel Cinematic Universe, which has grossed nearly \$18 billion at the global box office, and yet has never made a film led by a solo female protagonist. Even after the blockbuster success of DC Comics' *Wonder Woman*, which took in more than \$800 million, misogynistic trolls still target female-fronted superhero movies—a point of concern for industry prognosticators who worry men don't want to see women kick ass.

Captain Marvel is strong enough to take them on. Touted as the most powerful superhero yet, Captain Marvel debuts in her own film on March 8 and then will most likely swoop in to save the *Avengers* in *Endgame* on April 26. But first we have to meet her: after all, every hero has an origin story. She was born Carol Danvers, a fighter pilot who received alien powers during a mysterious accident. That incident also wiped all her memories of life on earth. In her movie,



As Larson jumps from indie star to superhero, she leans on Jackson, whose films have grossed more than those of any other actor

she must travel back to her home planet to uncover the secret of how she became Captain Marvel, toggling between her more logical alien identity and her human instincts. "That's when Carol becomes herself," says Anna Boden, who co-directs the film with Ryan Fleck. "When she embraces her humanity, flaws and all."

She'll do so with the help of Jackson's Fury. Jackson is an old pro at this: he will have starred in a whopping 11 Marvel films as an eye patch-wearing government agent by the end of the summer. The film is set in the '90s, before the character lost an eye, so in addition to having full use of his faculties, Jackson is wearing a wig, and his face is covered in dots that will de-age him in post-production so he'll look like he just walked off the set of *Die Hard*.

But Fury's makeup is nothing compared to that of Ben Mendelsohn, who plays a shape-shifting alien and the film's villain. On set the Australian actor, who has made a career playing villains



in blockbusters, is lounging on a bench, waving off a production assistant who's fretting over his alien makeup possibly melting in the oppressive heat. He stays in character for our interview. "Captain Marvel? She's a bit of a problem for me," he says, a cigarette dangling from his painted green lips. "Those jazz hands of hers can really do some damage."

The combination of a cat sidekick, a morphing alien and a superhero who can shoot beams out of her hands might sound wacky. But it's part of a Marvel machine that's almost certainly too big to fail. The challenge now is keeping the focus on the movie—not on the gender of its hero.

CAPTAIN MARVEL WASN'T the obvious choice for Marvel's first solo female superhero, since she's a relative unknown outside the comic-book world. She doesn't have the name recognition of Spider-Woman or Storm. In the comics, Carol Danvers spent decades as Ms. Marvel after gaining her powers, a conscious

nod to *Ms.* magazine. In the '70s, the character even left a job at NASA to run a feminist publication called *Woman* while wearing Gloria Steinem-inspired scarves. (Paradoxically, she spent her nights fighting crime in a getup that was basically a bathing suit.)

Danvers got a much-needed promotion from Ms. Marvel to Captain Marvel in 2012 with the help of comic-book writer Kelly Sue DeConnick, who once distilled her philosophy about writing female characters to me thusly: "If you can take out your female character and replace her with a sexy lamp and your plot still functions, you're doing it wrong." Danvers got a new military look, shorter hair, and the sort of narcissistic swagger that has long been carried by men like Robert Downey Jr. but women are rarely allowed to own.

It's this version of Danvers that's made its way to the big screen. Back on set, Larson assures me, "If they had presented me with a leotard, I would have walked out of the building." Even out of uniform, she has a less feminine look than most female superheroes. Channeling Winona Ryder's and Kate Moss' androgynous looks from the '90s, the costume designer has fitted her with a Nine Inch Nails T-shirt and an oversize black leather jacket.

Wonder Woman may have beaten Captain Marvel to theaters, but this new movie isn't a copycat. Captain Marvel doesn't wear a skirt. She's cocky and pugnacious, not naive. Instead of a love interest, she's got a best friend, fellow pilot Maria Rambeau. "We've moved past that moment in the culture where one woman in every film represents female strength," says Lashana Lynch, who plays Maria. "We've come far enough to show women supporting each other."

And Danvers isn't concerned with making her male fans feel comfortable, a point of contention among viewers who complained that the character doesn't smile enough when the first trailer dropped. Captain Marvel exemplifies a completely different kind of female strength, one that some men may find

more threatening. There's been such a push by trolls online to drag down the Rotten Tomatoes score of the movie and ruin its odds at the box office that the review aggregator removed the option for fans to rate films before they've been released—a first in the site's history.

EIGHT MONTHS BEFORE any of this so-called controversy arises, Larson is already exhausted just by the prospect of it. She's had an enviable career as an indie actor, and won an Oscar for the 2015 film *Room*, but her small films were never the subject of such scrutiny. She's an outspoken feminist, and she knows taking on the Captain Marvel mantle would allow her to send an empowering message to a larger audience. But she's sick of the narrative. "I don't feel any pressure at all to represent my gender," she says. "That shouldn't even be a factor. It's just a movie."

'I don't feel any pressure to represent my gender. That shouldn't even be a factor. It's just a movie.'

BRIE LARSON,
on the anti-feminist
backlash against the film

But how, I ask, do you reconcile the two sentiments: that this is just a popcorn flick, and that it is something that can change the culture, the way other superhero films like *Black Panther* and *Wonder Woman* did? This question rouses the generally quiet Jackson from his wicker chair. "You see a movie with a powerful woman in it, and you realize that you are powerful too. Or you look up and somebody that was a 28-year-old nobody beats some guy who's been in Congress for 10 f-cking years, and that means there's hope," he says, referring to the then recent surprise victory of Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez in the Democratic primary in New York. "No matter how hard the Good Ol' Boy network tries to convince you that they have all the power, there's always resistance. I try to teach my daughter that." He turns to Larson. "I see it in you." But then the two get called back on set: Gonzo the cat is ready for the next shot.

Captain Marvel will surely inspire little girls across the world to feel powerful. But I share Larson's hope that we soon reach a place where we can appreciate the movie for what it is: a blockbuster in which the fate of the world may hinge on a cat. □



Partying like it's the end of the world in *Now Apocalypse*

TELEVISION

Apocalypse forever

By Judy Berman

THE STRANGE, OVERSEXED, EXHILARATING NEW STARZ series *Now Apocalypse* opens with a bleak observation: “In these f-cking dark and scary times, it’s easy to adopt a ‘What difference does it make?’ attitude,” says protagonist Uly (Avan Jogia). “So I often find myself in these situations where my heart’s pounding so fast I can barely breathe, and I can’t tell if it’s excitement or terror or both.” There’s something au courant about the mix of nihilism and nerves he describes. But it’s also an apt summation of what it’s like to be young, artistic and broke in a city that eats people like you for brunch.

In fact, the show’s creator, cult filmmaker Gregg Araki, has been mining this headspace for most of his three-decade career. Once associated with New Queer Cinema—the loose ’90s movement that launched Todd Haynes and Gus Van Sant—he’s known for making campy, candy-hued pop art with undertones of paranoia. Araki broke through at Sundance with the HIV-positive fugitives of 1992’s *The Living End*. Like a countercultural 90210, many of his subsequent films spin sex, drugs and teen angst into surreal black comedy populated by pretty pansexuals whose decadence befits the end times. With this show, he graduates to *Melrose Place*.

Uly (short for Ulysses, naturally) is the shaggy hero of this alterna-soap, an aimless postcollegiate stoner in L.A. who’s taken up vlogging because, he says, “movies are even more irrelevant now than books.” As he hunts for purpose and connection but finds only sex, mostly with men, his tragically straight roommate Ford (Beau Mirchoff)—a studly, puppyish aspiring

screenwriter with a rich dad—romances an affectless rocket scientist (Roxane Mesquida). Uly’s best friend Carly (Kelli Berglund) pays for acting classes with sessions as a cam girl. The pals’ meal-time chats are as rich in X-rated real talk as Carrie Bradshaw’s confabs—a debt freely acknowledged by Araki, who has described the show as “queer *Sex and the City* meets *Twin Peaks*. With an alien.”

THOUGH NOW APOCALYPSE is sillier and less philosophically ambitious than *Twin Peaks*, its similar commingling of the soapy, the psychological and the supernatural justifies the citation. Araki doesn’t rip off David Lynch’s rural noir, like recent TV tributes such as *Riverdale*, which he’s directed; he’s a stylist in his own right, and the show’s look draws on his own neon-lit, self-consciously trashy tropes. The extraterrestrial in question is a sort of human-size Godzilla that Uly keeps seeing in sexually violent visions that could be nightmares, premonitions, real life or a side effect of too much weed. As the encounters grow more vivid, Uly discovers a lizard-people conspiracy theorist (played by punk icon Henry Rollins) on YouTube and starts to fear a cataclysm. These scenes resemble 1950s B movies as remixed by Freud—sci-fi vignettes that complement the millennial characters’ hyperreal world of Tinder, vape pens and sexual fluidity. (That these details feel more like self-parody than intergenerational shaming may be a credit to Araki’s younger writing partner Karley Sciortino, a sex writer who hosts Viceland’s show *Slutever*.)

Critics tend to take it as a sign of arrested development that Araki keeps coming back to the quarter-life crises of fringe hedonists. But his neon Armageddon allegories have evolved over the years, adapting as apocalyptic anxiety coalesced around first the AIDS crisis, then Y2K, and most recently the dual existential threats of climate change and Trump-era geopolitical chaos. With its casual queerness, its tinfoil-hat doom-sayers and its vague but pervasive mood of foreboding, *Now Apocalypse* fun-house-mirrors a world that has finally caught up to Araki. If ever there was a time for free-loving youths to party through their panic, then surely that moment is now. □

**‘I’m a
millennial, so
sexual fluidity
is kind of a
requirement.’**

CARLY,
in *Now Apocalypse*

QUICK TALK

Patricia Arquette

In January, the actor won a trio of awards, including a Golden Globe, for her role in last fall's *Escape at Dannemora*, a Showtime drama about a real-life prison break. In Hulu's *The Act*, out March 20, she takes on another role drawn from true crime: Dee Dee Blanchard, a toxically overprotective Missouri mother whose daughter's desire for freedom leads to violence.

You've talked about how your character in *Escape at Dannemora* freed you from worrying about being likable or attractive enough. What else did you like about that role? It wasn't that I ever felt I should have to be any of those things as an actor. But I felt like the business expected me to. Tilly is middle-aged and not apologetic about it. She felt O.K. about being sexual even though this world tells us you're supposed to have a certain body type to be sexual.

Did you feel a similar freedom with Dee Dee? I don't know how to make someone likable who does what she does to her kid. But that's not my concern as an actor. I just have to be honest about how the character feels and how they excuse their behavior, even if other people think it's horrendous.

Dee Dee appears to suffer from Munchausen syndrome by proxy, in which people fabricate or cause illness to someone under their care. How did you get into that mind-set? This part came to me when my daughter was going to boarding school. I had this longing feeling of wanting to keep her close to me. I expanded those feelings of care and loss almost to a phobic level. Everybody is afraid of being alone, of not being loved or needed. But when it comes to this toxic level, the behavior gets very weird because it's so desperate.

At 50, you're getting some of the best roles of your career. What does that tell you about how Hollywood views women as they age? It's always been the norm that they were really ready to put you out to pasture. What's opening doors is these new streams of original content. They need material. At the same time, you have real-life crime stories that started doing well. They all lumped together at a perfect moment in my life.

You are an outspoken supporter of #MeToo, and your sister Rosanna was one of the first women to speak out against Harvey Weinstein. Where does that movement go from here? I'm really proud of my sister. She's incredibly brave. But there's a lot of problems that aren't being dealt with, like rape kits not being tested in a timely manner. There's a long way from having this conversation to having legislation and norms in our society where people understand what's acceptable behavior toward one another. I hope we can figure out best practices to support victims and educate offenders so we don't keep this cycle going. —MAHITA GAJANAN



Moore in *Gloria Bell*: stealth magic

MOVIES

A glorious *Gloria*

There are two kinds of great female actors: grandes dames, who command your respect, and jewel thieves, who sneak off with it, seducing you with gestures and expressions so delicate that you barely notice them—until you snap to and realize something inside you has shifted.

Julianne Moore is the latter type, and her gifts are on full display in the radiantly bittersweet *Gloria Bell*, from Chilean filmmaker Sebastián Lelio. Moore's Gloria is a single Los Angeles 50-something in search of an elusive missing element in her life that may, or may not, be love. Has she found it in John Turturro's Arnold, the recently divorced owner of a small recreational park whose chief attraction is paintball? That depends on what she's willing to settle for.

Gloria Bell is Lelio's English-language remake of one of his earlier films, the 2013 *Gloria* (starring the superb Chilean actress Paulina García). You can start with either one—each is terrific—and Moore proves that this character's experience translates easily into any language. Gloria is lonely, but not too lonely. She feels longing, but not desperation. Her life is complete, yet there's always something else, isn't there? Middle age is a time of reckoning. But *Gloria Bell* is all about moving forward, drawn by the mystery of what might be coming next. —Stephanie Zacharek



EXHIBIT

Rethinking Frida Kahlo

By Andrew R. Chow

IN RECENT YEARS, FRIDA KAHLO'S IMAGE HAS INSPIRED a Barbie, a nail-polish line and a Snapchat filter. But a new exhibit at the Brooklyn Museum aims to draw attention away from superficial signifiers and offer a deeper understanding of the Mexican painter, whose self-portraits and Surrealist imagery made her one of the most influential artists of the 20th century. "Frida Kahlo: Appearances Can Be Deceiving," on display through May 12, features a collection of Kahlo's possessions that shed light on her politics, embrace of indigenous Mexican culture and resilience in the face of debilitating ailments. Here are five images from the exhibit that help paint a fuller picture of her personal history.



▼ FRIDA KAHLO IN NEW YORK CITY

Kahlo was fascinated by New York, where she had her first solo show, but also open about her disgust with the U.S.'s capitalist-driven inequality. "I feel a bit of rage against all these rich guys here, since I have seen thousands of people in the most terrible misery without anything to eat and with no place to sleep," she wrote in a 1931 letter. In this photo she wears a huipil—a Mexican tunic that reinforces her commitment to the country's indigenous culture.



^ FIRST COMMUNION

This 1920 photo of a young Kahlo at her first Communion was likely taken by her father Guillermo, a professional photographer. He and Frida shared a close relationship during her childhood on the outskirts of Mexico City. "They had a very strong dialogue about their creative impulses," says Catherine Morris, who co-curated the exhibit. While Kahlo was mostly uninterested in practicing religion, Catholic imagery made its way into her work. In self-portraits, she portrayed herself as a crowned nun or a bloody martyr with a necklace of thorns. Other works resembled devotional paintings found in churches.



◀ FRIDA AT LA CASA AZUL

In 1941, Diego Rivera moved in with Kahlo at her family home, La Casa Azul (The Blue House). The pair covered the walls and shelves with ancient Mayan artifacts, papier-mâché skeletons and other folk art. The house and its gardens were also filled with animals, including monkeys and Mexican hairless dogs. Kahlo painted almost all of her work in this home, drawing inspiration from its many living and historical testaments to Mexican culture. It now houses the Frida Kahlo Museum.

▼ CORSET WITH SICKLE AND FETUS

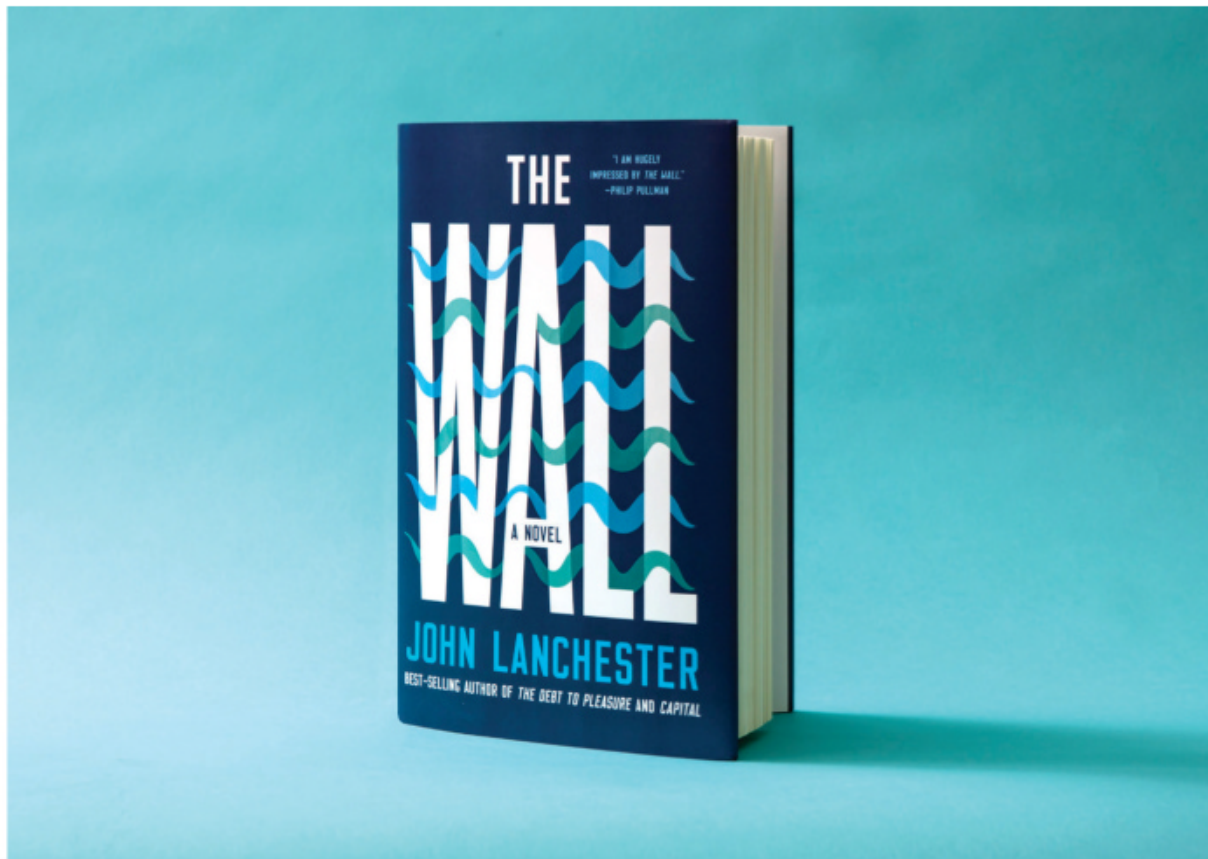
In 1925, an 18-year-old Kahlo was gravely injured in a bus accident. Her injuries forced her into hospital beds and tight corsets that straightened her spine. While bedridden, she painted on not only suspended canvases but also her corsets. The one she wears in the photo below depicts symbols of both her inability to give birth and her communist beliefs. Kahlo's injuries led her to have several miscarriages and abortions, and she depicted wombs, fetuses and children in many of her works. In her later years, she devoted her energy to communist activism, inserting flags, political inscriptions and peace doves into still lifes.



◀ SELF-PORTRAIT AS A TEHUANA

Facts and myth intertwine in any recounting of the relationship between Kahlo and Rivera, two of the most influential artists of their country and century. During their marriage, divorce and remarriage, they had many affairs and expressed passion and heartbreak in letters that crisscrossed the globe. Rivera, who was then more established, helped her forge connections in the art world. Kahlo painted him many times, and put him at the center of this regal 1943 self-portrait. "I think this painting is an assertion of how he remains at the core of her being in such an important way," says Morris. Their turbulent relationship continued until her death in 1954.





FICTION

What goes down after a wall goes up

By Lucas Wittmann

JOHN LANCHESTER'S LAST NOVEL, *Capital*, published in 2012, was a Dickensian tour of London in the era of global capital—but before crises of xenophobia and worsening climate change came crashing down. The British journalist and novelist's latest, *The Wall*, picks up somewhere in the not-too-distant future, when those crises have peaked: the seas have risen, the world has flooded, and human society has been torn apart. Only one place on earth (much like England, but not necessarily England) remains recognizable, with rolling green hills and pubs.

The story is centered on an everyman named Joseph Kavanagh, who, like all citizens under a certain age, is conscripted to serve as an armed "Defender" on the Wall, a 10,000-km concrete barrier that keeps out the "Others" (cue the raised eyebrows of readers stateside). These "Others" are wandering peoples who live on the seas—imagine a scene from that Kevin Costner misfire, *Waterworld*. The older generation sits around watching TV shows about beaches, dreaming of earth as it was before they ruined it. Fuel is limited so only the "Elites," a closed-off

cadre who run the country, can fly to meet with other Elites. There is also a class of Breeders whose job is to, well, breed because everyone else is too depressed to get frisky.

In the world Lanchester creates, most everything is distressing, yet there are reassuring moments of normality—a few people still flirt and fall in love, politicians still repeat the same speeches, and everyone has an iPhone-like device. As in all good dystopian fiction, Lanchester shows us a world that could become a reality; if we keep doing what we're doing, we'll get there, eventually. But the great trick of the novel is that he avoids hysterics. As the story builds and Kavanagh is forced to confront betrayal and worse, Lanchester maintains measured, elegant prose—creating an assuredly human dystopian novel.

He is too smart a writer (see his excellent essays in the *London Review of Books* and the *New Yorker*) to imagine that his book will be received as a mandate. But there is something hopeful about it: If we read and share stories about what might happen, perhaps we can change what will. Maybe, Lanchester suggests, it's not too late. □

FICTION

Troubled waters

On her first day of training as a *haenyeo*, or female diver, Young-sook thinks about all the ways she could die underwater. It's 1938 and she's just joined a tribe of women on the Korean island of Jeju who work all day at sea to provide for their families. In *The Island of Sea Women*, a novel spanning over 50 years, Chinese-American author Lisa See explores a matriarchal society where the dangers in the waters pale in comparison to what's happening on dry land. The story follows Young-sook's tumultuous relationship with Mi-ja, a fellow diver and—for many years—her best friend. But with the deadly impacts of both World War II and the Korean War unfolding around them, their bond is destroyed by a devastating betrayal.

In the vein of her past novels including *Shanghai Girls* and *The Tea Girl of Hummingbird Lane*, See demonstrates her skill in weaving complicated histories with the dramatic generational sagas of her characters. In *The Island of Sea Women*, she uses evocative prose to craft a compelling narrative, bringing timeless human experiences into historical events. Her rendering of an unraveling friendship demonstrates that forgiving is not the same as forgetting.

—Annabel Gutterman



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8 Questions

Tory Burch The fashion designer and philanthropist on entrepreneurship, ambition and women running for President in 2020

The Tory Burch brand turns 15 this year. What have you learned in that time about being a creative and an entrepreneur?

I've basically learned everything. When I started, I had never gone to business school or design school. One thing I am proud of is that part of the business plan from the beginning was to start a foundation and a purpose-driven company.

Your foundation's Embrace Ambition series addresses double standards around ambition and gender. Have you ever felt vilified because of your ambition?

If I have, ignorance is bliss, because I don't know about it. But I don't think I was always taken seriously, and it bothered me. The first article that was written about me, I remember the journalist saying, "You're very ambitious," and 15 years ago, I was taken aback. It was very clear in the article, because a friend of mine called me and said, "Nice article, but don't ever shy away from the word *ambition*." It really struck a chord.

Were there any female entrepreneurs you looked up to when you were starting your business? My mom, even though she didn't work when I was really young. She's been an organic gardener since the '70s, and it developed into a business. It really emboldened her and made her confident. I saw it firsthand.

Why did you decide to focus your foundation on female entrepreneurship? Women are the backbone of society and their families. Helping them, in turn, helps communities and families. I realized I had the experiences and challenges many women faced and could give them advice. Women are at a disadvantage—it's very simple. They have a harder time getting access to capital. We passed the \$49 million mark last year in giving access to low-interest loans with Bank of America.

“WOMEN ARE THE BACKBONE OF SOCIETY AND THEIR FAMILIES. HELPING THEM, IN TURN, HELPS COMMUNITIES AND FAMILIES”



To what kinds of businesses? There's a woman who owns a hot-dog stand in New Orleans called Diva Dawg. One woman started an all-natural chocolate company out of Maine called Bixby & Co. One woman was working on film sets and saw so much waste, so she created a company to make sure things were recycled. Often, they have more than one job. Sometimes, they're single mothers. They're the inspiring ones to me.

You've talked openly about being a working mom. Are people talking enough about working dads? It's funny, at our summit [last year], I turned that question around when I interviewed [Representatives] Kevin McCarthy and Joe Kennedy III. I said, "I'm going to ask you the question I'm asked every single interview: 'Tell me, what are you wearing?'" They both were taken aback. And then I asked, "How do you manage being a father and having a career?" I don't think people are talking about it as much.

You helped design a T-shirt for Hillary Clinton supporters during the 2016 campaign. What do you think of the current Democratic presidential hopefuls? First of all, I think it's amazing how many women were just elected to Congress. I think it's even more amazing that so many women are putting their hats in the ring to run for President. I'd rather weigh in on issues of humanity than politics at the moment, but I'm not scared to weigh in when the time is right.

Women's success is often attributed to the men in their lives. Have people tried to apply that narrative to you? It's happened more times than you can imagine. Listen, you hope your success speaks for itself. The people that know me know the work that I've put in to build this company, and I'm not really interested in hearing the folly, as my grandmother used to say. —CADY LANG

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